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The Constructive Use of Authority*

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COME years ago I was visiting the principal of a Midwestern school. We were chatting in his office when the door opened and in walked a great amazon of a woman, the likes of which I had never seen. I am six feet tall, and she towered three or four inches above me; she must have out-circumferenced me by a foot or more. After exchanging greetings with the principal-I noticed him slink down a little behind his desk, so I quietly glided over until I was behind the file cabinet-she walked to the middle of the room and swung around, shifting her weight restlessly from one foot to the other as though she had just entered the arena and was looking for someone to wave a red cape. Someone did. There were two small boys sitting on a bench in the office, obviously awaiting the

great hour of judgment for some misdemeanor. One of them began nervously twirling his cap. This was a mistake. She focused on the two boys.

"Who are these boys waiting here?"
The principal opened his mouth to speak, but it was promptly closed.

"The boys will answer me. What are you waiting for?" The braver one finally found his wits and his tongue sufficiently to mumble something about seeing the principal.

"And you there swinging your cap
—what are you swinging your cap for,
boy? STAND UP WHEN A LADY
SPEAKS TO YOU!" Both boys whipped to attention and, trembling before this awe-inspiring presence, gave
an account of their sins—fighting on
the playground, as I remember. She
described vividly the dire consequences which would befall them in case
of a second offense and then ordered
them back to class. The principal
meekly mumbled that he was too
busy to see them anyhow.

[•] Paper presented October 31, 1958 at the Institute on Corrections, sponsored by the University of Missouri's School of Social Work, School of Law, and Division of Continuing Education.

After she had left and I ventured out from behind the file cabinet, I learned that this leviathan held a state-level job in school administration, had a doctor's degree in education, and had achieved considerable recognition for her research in child

psychology.

On another occasion I had returned an adolescent parole violator to the training school for a hearing before the parole board, which would determine whether he should be recommitted. He waited outside the board room while we discussed his case inside. The administrator addressed the staff psychologist: "What seems to be the matter with this kid? Why can't he get along?"

The psychologist thumbed through his report for a minute: "Well, above everything else, I'd say he has an extremely poor self-concept. Although he's tall, good looking, and intelligent, he's convinced that he is stupid, ugly, undesirable, and worthless. Anything that we can do to give him a better opinion of himself will be a step in

the right direction."

Then we called the boy in. The administrator stood the boy at attention before his desk and proceeded for fifteen minutes to give him the worst "chewing out" I have heard since leaving the army. He concluded the excoriation with these classic words: "... and I think that you're a no-good, worthless bum."

Now you don't have to be a psychiatrist to figure out that this is not the way to enhance a person's self-concept. Yet I have heard this same administrator stand before professional groups and lecture on The Needs of Children and on Understanding the Disturbed Child—lectures showing a rare depth of insight

and understanding, lectures I'd be proud to have authored.

Our Wayward Emotions

Why have I related these two "success" stories? What can they possibly contribute to an understanding of correction? The point is this: neither of these people was "dumb" or misinformed or untrained. They did not lack understanding of behavior principles or personality dynamics. Yet they clearly violated simple and basic principles which they could explain inside out. Weren't they a little inconsistent, or perhaps even abnormal? No. Karen Horney says: "Normal people do not know where they stand; they make compromises without being aware of doing so; they are involved in contradictions without knowing it."1 Now here's a disturbing thought: If Horney is correct, then even normal people like you and me might behave contrary to our knowledge.

Some years ago I read Baruch's book, New Ways in Discipline. Among other things, she advocates encouraging children to express their feelings-even when they are angry with us-and trying to show we understand these feelings. I liked it so much I brought it home for my wife to read-after all, she could use a little of this kind of advice. After she had read to about Chapter Three, we sat down to lunch, and my three-year-old began playing some kind of sloppy game with her milk. When I made her stop, she started to leave the table, her little face all puckery and weepy: "I don't like you," she said. I gave her a shake, waggled my big fat finger in her face and laid down the law: "I won't tolerate that kind of talk!" to re We with

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¹ Karen Horney, Our Inner Conflicts, New York, W. W. Norton, 1945.

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You see, it was my wife who needed to read the book.

We are involved in contradictions without knowing it. I got an "A" in the class where I was reading the book, yet my feelings would not let me apply this knowledge. I loved my little three-year-old very tenderly, and it disturbed me to hear her say she didn't love me. I couldn't stop her feeling that way, but I could forbid her to say so, and that was what disturbed me. How could I do such a thing? I suggest this as an explanation: We behave not only according to our knowledge of things and people, but also according to our feelings about them-and about ourselves. "The ignorant and the learned," says Gantt, "act almost identically when emotionally aroused."2 His statement applies even when I'm not having a temper tantrum or a crying jag. All of my feelings are constantly standing by, ready for service at a moment's notice, and my feelings about status or sex or aggression or authority readily become activated and influence my behavior whenever I encounter situations concerning status or sex or aggression or authority. The most important thing I can ever learn, therefore, is to understand myself. This is not a new idea; 2,000 years ago Socrates said that to be educated is to know oneself.

You will recall that I said the amazon and the training school director were well trained; I did not say they were well educated. John Dewey makes a nice distinction:3 A horse can be trained to perform the right responses in the right situations; an exceptionally bright parrot could likely be trained to lecture on the needs of children. But we are not educated, says Dewey, until we see the relationship between the principle and the act, between the means and the end; i.e., until it has meaning for us. And there can be no true meaning for us so long as our wayward emotions, rather than our knowledge, direct our behavior.

Childhood Authority Situations

With this orientation, then, let us consider some of our feelings about authority. When I told you the story about the amazon and the schoolboys, with whom did you identify, the lady or the kids? How many of you were cheering for the massive matron? No one. How many of you were on the side of the boys? Everyone. Now let me venture a guess as to why this was so. I will venture that you saw yourself as a child sweating it out in the presence of some person in authority and that the amazon reminded you of someone in your early childhood who handled situations as this lady did. I'd like you to recall some of the feelings you had on those occasions. Were you afraid? Angry? Resentful? Rebellious? Did you spend hours afterward plotting revenge? Did you fantasy the violent demise of the authority figure? Did you take these feelings out on some other person or animal or object? Don't these feelings still arise when you are faced with a threatening authority-situation? "So what?" you say. "Everyone has negative feelings. What's wrong with negative feelings?" Absolutely nothing-if you don't try to kid yourself about having them. But the moment you deny them, cover them up, or disguise them, your work suffers, which means that your parolees and probationers suffer. Let's consider some examples of this:

W. H. Gantt, Psychosomatic Medicine Monograph, Vol. 3, Nos. III-IV, 1944.

^{*} John Dewey, Democracy and Education, New York, Macmillan, 1916.

One day when I was about halfway through the fifth grade, the principal moved me into the sixth grade. Every kid in there was one to three years older than I-and bigger. There wasn't a kid in the entire class that I could lick, and I suddenly discovered what it was like to be the runt pig in a litter. The first day, the kids informed me of a track meet at the fairgrounds nearby, to be held after school in my honor. Well, the first thing they did after the guest of honor arrived was to beat him up. Then they scattered his books all over the playground, took off his pants, and hung them on the fairgrounds fence. I suffered such indignities for the next three years. Today, the one form of behavior I simply can't tolerate is bullying. Now suppose I fool myself about this: "Sure, I like all kids; I can accept bullies as well as any other." So Joe Brown, a bully, is coming up for parole. Of course, I won't think he's ready, and I'll have loads of evidence to document this conviction. Or maybe I'm writing his presentence report, and I recommend against probation. It's significant that in each case I will be particularly careful to supply an overabundance of evidence to support my recommendation. The parole board or judge will believe that I've made an unusually careful and objective study; actually, my report will be based on an emotionally determined judgment. But emotion can work the other way too. I try so hard to convince myself that I'm impartial that I lean over backward to avoid obeying my impulses-and go to the other extreme. The parolee who is a bully can get away with anything; I won't report him, since this would prove I don't like bullies.

Authority: Too Much and Too Little

Everyone has had some unhappy experiences with authority figures. All of us still retain some of these old feelings and carry them into our daily correctional work. How do we recognize them? Occasionally we see a parole officer who has a need to control, to dominate, and to subjugate. He acts like our amazon and probably for the same reason: it's easy to see how a person who has been dominated can find gratification in dominating others. That's what must have gone on in the man described to me in a conversation in a small mining town: "The kind of probation officer we need is one like Mr. Ace, who was here about twelve years ago-Wild Bill Ace, they called him. Well over six feet, weighed 220, didn't have an ounce of fat on him. He had a bushy black beard and always let his whiskers grow about an inch and a half long, just to scare hell out of the kids. Now, brother, when that guy said 'Jump,' those kids jumped."

On the other hand, Mr. King, a work supervisor in a boys' institution, weighs only 130 and never scared anybody-except when he was a Marine corporal. He says: "These kids should be made to march in columns and in step wherever they go; they should salute when they want to speak, and not speak until they're called on. They should address us as 'Sir'-'yes, Sir; good morning, Sir; goodbye, Sir." Now whose needs were being expressed here-those of Mr. King the child or Mr. King the adult? Where did these needs originate? It isn't hard to visualize an undersized youth who once found gratification in military authority and now wishes to repeat a satisf Mo rection to a ity. Quee

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satisfying experience.

More commonly, however, we correctional workers lean over backward to avoid the appearance of authority. This, too, can be harmful. Mr. Queen, a student worker in an institution, notifies a boy to come in to discuss a violation. Mr. Queen not only forgets about the appointment but schedules another for the same time and then forgets that one too.

Similarly, the parole board asks Mr. Jack, the parole officer, to pick up Lippy Lopez for reconsideration of his parole status. Lippy got his nickname because he is adept at arguing, backtalking, and haranguing; physically, he is harmless. Mr. Jack decides he really must make a trip out of town, so he asks the sheriff's office to make the pickup. They do so; Lippy sounds off as usual, and the arresting officer hits him in the mouth with his flashlight, breaking off a front tooth.

Why do you suppose these two workers found it necessary to avoid doing their jobs? Would Mr. Queen have forgotten his appointment if it had been his duty to tell the boy he was approved for release? Would Mr. Jack have found it necessary to leave town and send a sheriff's officer to inform the boy that he'd been O.K.'d for a driver's license?

Authority figures, they believe, are bad; they frighten, they subjugate, they hurt; people hate them: "I don't want to frighten, to subjugate, or to hurt; I want people to like me. Therefore, I forget my appointment; I have to be out of town; I postpone making a pickup; I have a flare-up of ulcers or arthritis and must take sick leave; I think this is a decision for higher authority and ask my supervisor to handle it: I think this type of case

should be referred to another agency; best of all, I can redefine my job: 'This authoritative function is not within my role.'" I have observed these evasive actions a hundred times among correctional workers—and, I might add, among other agency workers too.

So we seek to avoid the authority role, even when it's our job. Everyone likes to tell a boy that his parole is granted, or that his probation is terminated, or that his request for a Christmas visit home is approved. No one wants to tell him that he must return to the institution, or that his time is extended, or that his request is denied. Why? Because we don't see this as being helpful; we don't see the relationship between means and end; we are trained but not educated -we don't know ourselves. I have known several cases where a probation officer failed to return runaways or parole violators, although it was he who had made the initial recommendation for commitment. If it was not helpful to the child, why recommend it? Is this one of the normal contradictions of which Horney speaks?

Authority in Counseling: Four Views

Now we have posed several pertinent questions. If a person entertains negative feelings toward authority—and most delinquents do—don't we alienate him when we use authority? Don't we impair rather than enhance our relationship? Isn't the use of authority inimical to casework or the counseling process? Won't my authority always stand as a barrier between me and my probationer?

There certainly is no consensus among the experts in this matter.

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who once allitary auo repeat a Consider Rogers' opinion: "Therapy and authority cannot be coexistent in the same relationship."4

Hamilton provides a half-hearted answer: "Obviously the casework approach indicated here is suitable only in mild forms of delinquency.... True delinquency often needs restraint and authoritative coercion, and the psychiatrist has to carry any direct treatment involved." 5

Tappan gives us a schizoid answer: On one hand, "[A probation officer's] ability to carry out effective treatment is limited by the coercive authority that the court setting implies." On the other hand, "Probation casework... must accept realistically the need for authority, indeed even emphasize it, since it is here that the child's relation to society has been peculiarly defective." You will note that criminologists, like normal people, are involved in contradictions without knowing it.

A somewhat more positive answer comes from Teeters and Reinemann: "The concept of authority inherent in probation does not stand in the way of achieving and maintaining such a relationship."

Here, then, we have four authorities answering, respectively, that in treatment, authority (1) is impossible, (2) is possible only in mild cases, (3) is both detrimental and beneficial, and (4) is essential but not necessarily harmful.

University Press, 1940.

Constructive Use of Authority

Let me now suggest one possible answer and some points supporting it: Since one of the basic components of delinquency is a history of negative experiences with authority figures, one of the most beneficial services I can render to a delinquent is a new and constructive relationship with authority. Let me rephrase this for emphasis: authority not only needn't be detrimental to a corrective relationship; it can be the foundation for a good and wholesome relationship. Authority not only needn't hinder a client's progress, it can be one of the most powerful therapeutic tools the correctional worker can employ.

There are several bases—philosophical, theoretical, and factual—for this

statement:

1. I don't believe I need document the assertion that authority conflict is a major causative factor in delinquency. A number of reputable studies have pointed to parental overcontrol and undercontrol and resistance to it as among their highest correlative factors.⁸ Ausubel alleges that "The most important single cause of parentyouth conflict is the perseveration of parents' attitudes that interfere with

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⁴ Carl Rogers, Counseling and Psychotherapy, New York, Houghton Mifflin, 1942.
⁸ Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practice of Social Case Work, New York, Columbia

⁶ Paul W. Tappan, Juvenile Delinquency, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1949, pp. 11, 325. ⁷ N. K. Teeters and J. O. Reinemann, The Challenge of Delinquency, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1950.

^{*}William Healy and Augusta F. Bronner, New Light on Delinquency and Its Treatment, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1936; Sheldon Glueck and Eleanor Glueck, Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency, New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1950; G. C. Stevens, "Autobiographical Material Concerning the Childhood Environments and the Effects on the After-Adjustments of 100 Recidivists and 100 College Freshmen," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, July, 1932, pp. 279-303; M. P. Wittman and A. V. Huffman, "A Comparative Study of Developmental Adjustment and Personality Characteristics of Psychotic, Neurotic, Delinquent, and Normally Adjusted Teenage Youth," Journal of Genetic Psychology, June, 1945, pp. 167-182; F. Ivan Nye, Family Relationships and Delinquent Behavior, New York, John Wiley, 1958.

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the adolescent's greatly expanded need for independence."9 Alfred Adler cites this same conflict as the predominant cause of neurosis.¹⁰

Now lest I leave the mistaken impression that the conflict between authority and independence begins and ends in adolescence, let me emphasize that it doesn't: it begins with birth and ends with death, normally reaching an apex between ages fourteen and eighteen. Although a recent study by Sears and Maccoby indicates we are moving toward greater permissiveness in child rearing,11 many homes still essentially follow the counsel of Mother's Magazine, 1832: "Cost what it may, break the child down to obedience to your first command. And when this is done, if you are careful never to let disobedience escape punishment of some kind or other, and punishment that shall be effectual and triumphant, you will find it not difficult to maintain your absolute authority."

2. That a delinquent—and every person—must come to terms with societal authority is axiomatic. One of the few points on which most philosophers agree is that man must come to accept the authority of his society. Some of them have noted the close parallel between parental authority and societal authority; none has stated this more succinctly than Plato: "Everyone had better be ruled by divine wisdom dwelling within him; or, if this be impossible, then by an external authority.... And this is

clearly seen to be the intention of the law,... and is seen also in the authority which we exercise over children, and the refusal to let them be free until we have established in them a principle analogous to the constitution of the state, and by cultivation of this higher element have set up in their hearts a guardian and ruler like our own, and when this is done they may go their ways."12

This postulate has several corolaries:

(a) A society devoid of authority is unknown to anthropologists; I daresay we will never see one.

(b) The possibility that an offender will make a true adjustment without reconciliation with authority is nil.

(c) A major dimension of one's personal adjustment is the degree to which he has come to terms with the authority inherent in his culture.

(d) It is a sick society which has a predominance of its authority or conventions not integrated into the lives of its members. Consider a common example: in rural areas where people commonly carry target pistols in their cars, you will find state highway signs shot full of holes. (In fact, Nevada hangs little signs on the big ones for their citizens to shoot at in order to reduce wear and tear on the big ones.) Now, since the citizens must pay for the signs they shoot up, wouldn't it be smarter and cheaper to shoot at the Pepsi-Cola signs? Yet you rarely see a highway ad shot up. Why? Because Pepsi-Cola doesn't symbolize authority. It doesn't say: "Thou shalt not speed; thou shalt not cross the yellow line," etc. If we had a healthy society whose members incorporated its mores, we would not en masse question the state's authority; not questioning, we would not rebel;

^o Davis P. Ausubel, Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development, New York, Grune and Stratton, 1954.

Malfred Adler, The Practice and Theory of Individual Psychology, New York, Harcourt Brace, 1924.

¹¹ R. R. Sears et al., Patterns of Child Rearing, Evanston, Ill., Row, Peterson, 1957.

²⁸ Plato, The Republic, Book IX, Sec. 590.

not rebelling, we would not attack the state's symbols.

And this introduces the problem of overconformity. "This," says Jules Henry, "is the dilemma of our culture: ... to fill our armies with soldiers who will obey orders, while at the same time we teach our citizens not to be docile." 18

(e) Any time I am helping an offender resolve authority conflict, I can be assured that he is moving toward personal and social integration.

3. We need never start from zero -i.e., with a person who has entirely negative feelings toward authority, and absolutely no positive ones. We have said that everyone has negative feelings resulting from negative experiences with authority. The converse is true of positive experiences. The presence of negative feelings does not rule out the positive. Just as a person can feel both hostility and love toward another, this ambivalence is also present in our feelings toward authority. The most resistant and rebellious kids I have ever known were constantly expressing a desire and a need for control.

After the war, one training school received from war surplus several hundred flat wooden pallets or racks about three or four feet square. If you stood these on edge and nailed six or eight of them together, you could make a little shanty. The boys of one cottage asked to make a shantytown, and permission was granted. After a day or two, I went out to see how our junior Utopia was coming along. Every boy had a shanty partly completed, and they showed me through each one with considerable pride. But there was an interesting development.

Before completing one single shanty, the boys interrupted their individual projects to complete a cooperative community structure—an extremely rare event among delinquents. This was the only civic structure that their young social order produced, yet they deemed it sufficiently important to claim priority over their individual efforts.

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Can you guess what institution held such a high status? Not likely a school or a church or a library. More likely a casino, you say. Or a brothel? No, they built a jail. They completed it before they finished a single house. Why? William Graham Sumner says that societal controls evolved from necessity.14 The jail incident is a clear expression of adolescent need for control-they knew their individual stake in their infant society was precarious until they had built in some form of authority. And these were the same boys who daily expressed various forms of resistance to authority.

We need not be dismayed by a client's negative expressions for underlying these we may always find positive feelings to be drawn out and cultivated. We always have something positive to build on. We never start with zero.

4. Hamilton distinguishes between personal authority and the authority of reality. There is no place for personal authority in correction. The only authority available for our use is that delegated to us by society through the administrative agency. When we go beyond this, requiring a client to do or refrain from doing something because we think he should, constructive use of authority here ceases, the relationship breaks down,

³⁰ Jules Henry, "Docility or Giving the Teacher What She Wants," Journal of Social Issues, XI, 2: 33-41, 1955.

²⁴ W. G. Sumner, Folkways, New York, Ginn, 1940.

¹⁶ Supra, footnote 5.

shanty, and our client suffers. This concept, dividual too, has philosophical roots. Rousseau perative said: "Since no man has a natural xtremely authority over his fellows, and force ts. This creates no right, we must conclude hat their that conventions form the basis of all yet they legitimate authority among men." If rtant to I conceive of my authority as deriving dividual from me, then I must interpret every tion held a school re likely hel? No,

offense, every bit of resistance, every minor rebellion by my client as a personal affront. If, on the other hand, I perceive my authority as delegated by society, then I perceive a client's pleted it rebellion as rebellion against society, e house. not against me; I needn't meet perner says sonally a challenge of this authority ed from in order to satisfy my honor; if my is a clear authority is attacked, it is not I but for consociety that needs to be defensive or ual stake rejected or angry. recarious form of

Dealing with One's Own Authority **Problems**

"O. K.," you say. "I've got feelings about authority that I may or may not be aware of, and they do get involved in my daily work. What can I do about them if I don't understand them?" Let me make three sugges-

1. Acquire training and education. Go to a school of social work where you will spend about one half of your time learning to understand other human beings and one half learning to understand yourself. If necessary, camp on your agency's doorstep and say: "Look, I want to go to your school; I think I'll be a better worker if I do. But I've got a wife and two kids; I can't make it alone. How about a training grant?" Scholarships are available in most areas of social work, with good prospects in correctional social work.

2. Learn to use your supervisor. In social work we believe that a

primary task of supervision is helping a worker understand himself and his own emotional needs as they apply to cases he is handling. If a supervisory situation is free from threat and criticism, a person can feel free to express and explore anxiety-producing feelings. Obviously, this also requires a certain kind of supervisor. Let's get them into school too.

3. You can check yourself. I imagine most of you keep some sort of monthly report. Learn to use it. If I look over my report and see that I haven't seen three parolees for a month, and by coincidence all three are sex offenders, there may be reason to ask myself "why?" If the record shows that I spend excessive time with a few little meek, passive, submissive guys who never talk back, I must ask "why?" If it turns out that I consistently recommend for or against probation of aggressive people, of demanding people, of dependent people, of people who like me or dislike me, then it's time for that "why?" again.

The Worker and the Client

One of the commonest complaints we hear from students is that we're too theoretical: "All you ever give us is a bunch of vague generalities. We want some plain, workaday rules of thumb." Now there aren't many hard and fast rules in correction that you can rely on, but let's see whether we can nail down a few clues:

1. You can never go wrong letting a person know you understand how he feels. If you don't understand, you can't miss by letting him know you're working at it, that you're trying to understand his feelings. This includes his feelings about us.

2. You can never go wrong trying to understand your own feelings in

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- 3. In every action or decision on every case, you can never go wrong asking yourself: "Whose needs am I filling—the client's or my own?" and demanding of yourself an honest answer.
- 4. There is no substitute for plain, scrubbed, unadorned truth. You cannot go wrong if you level with a client about where he stands and where you stand.
- 5. It is always a mistake to bluff, to use idle threats or idle promises, to tell a client you will do something if you do not have the power to do it, or the intention.
- 6. It is always a mistake to do anything to or for or about a client without telling him. If you ordered his arrest, say so. If you recommend revoking parole, tell him so and tell him why. If you are referring him to the warden, to Alcoholics Anonymous, or to a psychiatrist, tell him so. This is the only course that will ever result in complete confidence.
- 7. You can never go wrong if you clearly differentiate which are your decisions to make and which are the client's. You must constantly defend this position, not allowing him to influence your decisions by any pressure device or to seduce you into making his. Once they are made, you must scrupulously accept the responsibility for your decisions and just as scrupulously insist that he accept responsibility for his. If there is a reconciliation between the casework and counseling concepts of self-determination and the use of authority, this dictum lies at the core of it. Let's say that

my job description specifies that I shall submit to the parole board a recommendation to revoke a man's parole. Let's say that I think he should be returned, but I want to keep a good relationship with him, so I don't tell him I recommend revoking. On what basis will the parole board justify its action? If its decision is to appear just and fair to the parolee-and his return can never prove constructive if it doesn't-the parole board must state its reasons, and these reasons appear in my report. How can the board conceivably cover up for me? The truth must come out, and when it does, the relationship I strove to preserve is kaput, because I did not level with him. If, at some future time, when I begin to explain to this man his need to face the responsibility for his decisions, my words will sound pretty hollow considering how I faced the responsibility for my decisions. Is this good pedagogy? Good probation? Good casework?

8. You can never go wrong if you exercise the authority delegated to you, if you use it in a kindly and non-punitive manner, if you use it openly and honestly in a manner that shows unequivocal respect for your client's right to individuality.

I have tried to show how we transfer our feelings toward authority figures—parents, teachers, et al.—to the greater authority of society. Correctional workers must use this same process to show the client that authority need not be punitive, capricious, or dogmatic; to demonstrate that authority can be a friend—kindly, benign, and understanding. I can never demonstrate this to a client if I don't believe it myself.

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Making the Patient Aware

MELITTA SCHMIDEBERG, M.D.

Director of Clinical Services, Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders, New York

THE aim of rehabilitation by probation or psychotherapy is to make the offender an acceptable and accepted member of the community. To do so, it is necessary to stop his antisocial behavior and develop his social assets and his sense of responsibility.

It is fashionable to believe that people with "problems" (whatever that means) are helped by a "relation" and by "insight." (Both these terms are used rather loosely and broadly.) However, a therapeutic relation and therapeutic insight will socialize an offender only if they are specifically adapted for this purpose. Moreover, most offenders are not only unwilling to develop but incapable of developing a relation to a socially oriented person.

Differing Methods of Treatment

Two important approaches have been worked out to overcome this fundamental handicap. Some social workers try to approach the patient by deliberately descending to his level, seeking him out in his own habitat, hanging out in poolrooms, mixing with the gangs as streetworkers. The danger of this approach is that the worker may go down too deep, so that the offender either develops contempt for him, as in *West Side Story*, or thinks the worker condones antisocial behavior.

The other approach is that of probation. If he has been deeply shaken

by his arrest and conviction, the offender appreciates the probation officer's interest. Though probation has developed empirically, the underlying psychological approach is ingenious and is admirably suited to the offender's mentality: It combines supervision and encouragement, threat and help; and the probation officer can stress either aspect according to need and utilize both almost simultaneously.

Probation is more than "casework in an authoritative setting." Casework is essentially uni-directional; its stress is usually on help, permissiveness, nonpunitiveness, insight; but "insight" in therapy or casework usually means patient-centered insight, the patient's understanding of his own past, his own emotions, motivations, and mental processes. In the probationer, on the other hand, we want to develop community-oriented insight; we want him to understand consequences, recognize his share of responsibility for the reactions of his employer, his probation officer, or the judge, all of whom he resents.

The therapeutic approach followed by the Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders (APTO) has been largely fashioned by the concepts and practices of probation. Our situation in regard to the patient is not quite the same as that of the probation officer, but in many respects it is akin. We work with the courts but are not employed by them. We see

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te transuthority at al.—to ety. Cornis same that aue, caprionstrate—kindly, I can client if the patients referred to us by the courts in the APTO office or, more frequently, in the private offices of our therapists—a fact that in itself has a socializing effect. As a rule, the patients attend only under pressure and it is up to the therapist (like the probation officer) to turn the enforced relation into a genuine one. Like him, we utilize crises to establish a relation and to gain influence, and we need pressure on the patient or he would not come.

The Sense of Consequence

To influence an offender, we have to establish a relation, but once a relation is established, it must be used to influence him; if it isn't, it will remain therapeutically ineffective. Since the offender is a failure in socialization, the aim of treatment must be to correct the fault in development.

The ordinary citizen refrains from breaking the law because (a) he is afraid of the consequences; (b) he would experience shame, guilt, remorse; (c) he has positive moral, social, religious, or civic values; (d) he is part of the community, has feeling for others, and derives satisfaction from behaving well.

The failure to anticipate consequences, to foresee what would be obvious to a small child, is characteristic of most offenders. Because they believe (contrary to experience and evidence) that they will not be caught, the threat of punishment does not deter them. It is the task of therapy to make them aware of consequences, to sensitize them to social pressures, to develop their sense of reality. If the offender is insufficiently motivated by normal social incentives, the task of therapy is to develop these incentives,

to build upon whatever rudiments of social attitudes he has, and to utilize them toward social orientation and behavior. 1

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Cooperation: A Practical Necessity

As APTO Director of Clinical Services, I do most of the intake, and one of my main objectives is to change the "unwilling patient" into a more cooperative one. This is a practical necessity, as otherwise he cannot be treated; but also it is already part of the therapeutic process.

To give some examples:

CASE 1

Jimmy, aged seventeen, was sent to us by the court clinic. Pleased with himself and smug, he asserted that the judge and the clinic had pleaded with him to take treatment but that he did not see the point of it. After some discussion, in which I was not unfriendly, I told him we had many more patients than we could cope with and really had no need to take on patients who were not willing. But I added, "Do not tell your probation officer that I said you do not need treatment."

"What should I tell him?"

"Use your brains in this situation and generally," I said, "and realize that you will have to take responsibility for all your actions and accept the consequences."

Then he used his trump card: "And what if I continue to steal while I am having treatment?"

"The answer is simple," I raid. "You'll go to jail and not the doctor."

This seemed to impress him, but there was no immediate proof. I asked the probation officer to continue to press him to come for treatment. ents of utilize n and

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A month later Jimmy telephoned me and asked whether I remembered him. I said "Certainly" and asked him why he was calling. He answered rather vaguely. I repeated what I had pointed out to him before—that we were rather busy people and I would not allow him to take up our time for nothing.

He said, "My probation officer is mixed up."

I said, "You are mixed up."

We had three similar telephone conversations at monthly intervals, after which he asked to see me. He now wanted treatment, he said. I saw him and made it clear that I would have to be convinced of his seriousness before sending him to a therapist. He is now taking treatment and is doing well.

Probation and psychiatric treatment of offenders should be regarded as a privilege, not as a right. If it is made too easy, they are not grateful for it; on the contrary, they resent it as irksome. Sometimes a blunt manner with the persons with whom you deal is the only way to make them aware of certain facts. I told a middleclass father: "You complain about your son's being on probation, but you ought to realize it costs the community several hundred dollars a year. People like you should be able to look after their children themselves; probation should be for boys who have no father or don't have a decent home." He said indignantly, "I pay my taxes," to which I replied, "So do I, but I don't take advantage of this service."

CASE 2

John, aged thirty, had spent more than half his life in correctional institutions. Since he was not on parole, and I had no legal hold over him, I had to see how I could gain a quick influence over him. I asked him how many felonies he had committed, and he said with some satisfaction, "I have been sentenced for only two—that means I would not get life the next time."

"How much time would you get?"
"Probably ten to twenty, but maybe
only five, which would be a bargain,
so if somebody suggested an easy job,
I might do it."

I asked him how long he thought he was likely to live—another thirty years?

"Oh, no, twenty at the most."

"Well, you have spent seventeen years of the last twenty in institutions, so at that rate you will have three more years at liberty."

In the next interview I took his detailed history, and to impress him, I listed all his convictions and commitments and the total time spent in jail. Then I asked him: "What is your conclusion about all this?"

After a while he replied, "A wasted life."

He has not committed any offenses for quite a while now. But the work he does is the worst possible kind for him: he's a bartender. He drinks himself sick. I dwell on all the likely physical consequences, and he admits he saw patients with delirium tremens and liver cirrhosis when he was in Bellevue, and he has not forgotten how terrible it was. He also tells me how his little daughter begs him to stop, and I remark, "Sometimes children have more sense than adults." I ask him why his wife is sticking by him, and what it does to her. Since then eighteen months have passed. He has changed his job, and has not committed any crimes, though occasionally on weekends he gets drunk. Never before has he managed to stay "clean" for so long a time, so maybe an awareness of the utter futility of his previous behavior has finally

penetrated.

Making the patient aware of the realistic consequences of his behavior often helps to establish a relation. Many therapists are too eager to be "nice," to reassure when reassurance is out of place. This attitude neither socializes the patient nor helps to establish a good relation to the therapist, largely because the approach is too shallow and fundamentally insincere. When a patient is obviously heading for disaster, yet has not got the strength to change, it is up to the therapist to give him strength and make him change. The word "support" is often misused to mean condoning or explaining away any type of irrational or undesirable behavior. Therapists too ineffective to change the pathological behavior often tend to glorify their ineptitude by calling it tolerance, sympathy, support, and other clichés, by trying to make the patient feel better about something that rightly makes him feel bad and about which he should be still more upset, so upset that he changes.

If you were a patient would you believe that a therapist was genuinely interested in you if he was unconcerned about the fact that you were likely to spend the rest of your life in prison or drink yourself to death? Much that appears as a positive attitude to the worker does not impress the patient as such. Many a therapist thinks that by merely listening he is showing sympathy and tolerance, but the patient sees only indifference and so reports grumpily, "He said nothing." Delinquents are outcasts, and

are not happy about their condition. Most of them would change if they had the strength, and if pressure is successfully used to change them, they are often grateful or at least relieved.

CASE 3

John, aged twenty-six, is an African Negro who came to this country at an early age. His parents are majors in the Salvation Army. One brother and a sister study art; another brother is in a mental institution. He himself did not get very far in school and has been in trouble since adolescence. He has six convictions, the last one for selling heroin. He was facing a five-year sentence when he had a schizophrenic breakdown. He spent two years in a state hospital and is currently on probation.

He asked for psychiatric treatment because he was worried about other breakdowns. I told him, and also wrote the probation officer, that the situation that causes him the greatest strain is to be at odds with society; this is what brought on his last breakdown and might precipitate the next one. Hence, it is vitally important that he settle down to a law-abiding,

normal life.

He admitted to me that he was taking marijuana, and that his probation officer did not know it. I prevailed upon him to move out of the neighborhood, and he did. He told me to take his marijuana addiction more seriously, so I told him strongly to stop, and he did. Further, I advised him to develop some interest and to have a purpose in life.

He started to learn diamond setting, which gave him much satisfaction. He showed me various items of second-hand jewelry which he had bought cheap, and told me he could get me

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setting, ion. He secondbought get me diamonds cheap, and on one occasion showed me \$1,000 in cash. He wanted the probation officer's permission to go to school days to learn diamond setting; he intended to live on his "savings" and from earnings on parttime jewelry repairs and wanted me to back this plan. The probation officer telephoned me and told me the school was a legitimate one and had spoken well about John, but he felt the patient should go to work, like anybody else, and learn diamond setting in the evening, to have some discipline. I agreed and he laid down the law to John, who burst into tears. John later called me up and told me he could not see me any longer since he had no money to pay me. I said I wanted to see him and would not charge. I was moderately sympathetic, but did not back him.

The next I knew was that he had committed an assault and was in the prison ward for observation. The probation officer told me he had interviewed the victim, who was not pressing charges, and that he was ready to continue probation. I visited the patient. The psychiatrist told me that in view of his peculiar manner and his history he wanted to send John to a state hospital; but I dissuaded him.

My conversation with John was brief: He started to argue his innocence, and I merely said, "Do not argue. You have enough trouble anyhow. Behave reasonably and get out of here. You are lucky you have a good probation officer; he could have sent you away for five years for breach of probation."

When the patient saw me next time at my office, he said he would give anything to have the pending court case straightened out. I was quite friendly but noncommittal. He failed to keep the next appointment. I called him up and he said he had forgotten. I reproached him and said he was under obligation to me. He asked me why, and I reminded him of my role in preventing his incarceration in the state hospital. He said, "There must be something wrong with my thinking."

I said, "Yes. Better start thinking things out." He also told me that he had quit the job he had taken after his discharge from the hospital and that he wanted to walk out on his wife. I told him to avoid trouble. He had had too many crises, too many long periods when a new disturbance arose every week. It was high time for things to go smoothly. A season of peace and quiet would make a good impression on the probation officer.

At the next visit he looked cheerful and seemed glad to see me. He told me he was happy with his family and had a new job where he had to do heavy work which he liked. He even spoke about the probation officer without bitterness. His assault, his quitting his job, his quarreling with his wife -all these had been precipitated by his resentment of the probation officer and by his annoyance with me for not supporting him against the officer. Once he accepted discipline and worked, he felt happier and his resentment disappeared, and he became attached to me. He is still unstable, however, and changes his job quite frequently.

CASE 4

Tony, twenty-one, stopped work in a schizophrenic condition eighteen months ago. He had delusions and was hearing "voices." For six months he had had psychiatric treatment. The doctor humored the boy and told the parents not to pressure him. When he came to me, accompanied by his father, he looked most peculiar; for one thing, he seemed to be trying to create an impression that he was much younger than he actually was—for example, he was chewing bubble gum.

I started straightaway to talk about his taking a job. I told him I understood he was afraid of it, but that in the long run he would feel much better if he worked. He agreed, and although he did not act on the suggestion, he looked more his age at the second visit, and by the time he made the third visit he had stopped chewing bubble gum without my having told him to do so.

For a working class boy to stay home and not work is peculiar; it makes him feel and look peculiar, and the result is a vicious circle. At the fourth visit I brought up the voices he heard, the phenomenon that had so much impressed the last psychiatrist. I asked him what they were like. He said, "Like you talk."

I said, "Is that so terrible? If you had a job, you'd be kept busy and you'd have no time to pay attention to them, so they would disappear."

The next week I asked about the voices again and he said, "I can still hear them a little."

I said, "And, of course, if you tried, you could hear them much better, and then you would have a good reason not to take a job." Though he is not very bright, he understood what I meant. He found a job a short time later and is now working steadily. I had seen him altogether twelve times for short interviews and he has been well now for over a year.

Of course, not every schizophrenic patient can be pressured into a job. One of the functions of a psychiatrist is to decide when and how much a patient can be pressured. However, many therapists tend to leave the patient alone; in many cases this is not desirable therapeutically and it even discourages the family from trying to bring the patient back to normality.

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Many parents and others in authority who ought to be guiding their charges fail to assert themselves for fear of being disliked. Actually, however, the indulgent parent does not get more affection or gratitude than the stricter parents of a generation ago. Love and strictness are not necessarily mutually exclusive, and if we have somebody's interest at heart we do not allow him to jump out of the window, drink himself to death, or remain illiterate anymore than we would remain inactive if we saw him bleeding to death.

One reason this false "supportiveness" has such a bad effect on the patient is that it implies a slight, unintended by the therapist but felt and reacted to by the patient. He is assessed too low.

Popularity Is Not Primary Aim

The main concern of the therapist or the probation officer should be with being effective rather than nice. A patient who seeks help from a physician prefers, or should prefer, medical skill to a good bedside manner-though of course it is pleasant if he has both. We do not really help offenders by being merely "nice" to them; we must be able to get them to act normally or they will spend the rest of their lives in and out of prison, a misery to themselves and a burden and danger to others. For this reason the short-sightedness of some workers who merely try to get their charges

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out of immediate trouble, without looking at the whole picture, is incomprehensible to me.

A neighborhood social worker rang APTO on behalf of a seventeen-year-old boy who was in a state mental hospital because of alcoholism. The boy had never worked. The hospital would let him go if it were assured that he would receive psychiatric treatment, to be paid for by the mother. When I insisted that the mother make it a condition before she took him out that he go to work, and that he be paroled to the hospital on this condition, the social worker was so indignant that he hung up on me.

Quite a few workers seem to regard authority or restriction as a sort of brutality or "mental castration," when obviously some authority is needed to normalize offender patients. Moderate punishment with plenty of warnings is more in the patient's interest than short-lived leniency, which encourages the patient to get into more serious trouble, with dire consequences. Patients are aware of this, even if they refuse to admit it, and often a much better and genuine relation is established when the therapist is frank and realistic. Even harshness is not resented if it helps to achieve better adjustment.

It is not our job to be liked. It is pleasant if we are, but this should not be our main concern. So often weakness and confusion are covered up with pretentious clichés, or the worker tries to see the patient in an unduly favorable light, almost like a rider who has no control over his horse but continues to praise it, hoping that the horse will eventually live up to the compliment.

To treat, we must face facts; we

must know the degree of the patient's abnormality or the extent of his antisocial behavior as well as its likely consequences. We must face reality and make the patient face it; this is the only way for him. What is wrong with him is that he cannot face his own faults and failures or cope with life, and it is up to the therapist to face them, and enable him to face them, and teach him to cope with them. The patient is not likely to change unless he wants to change, and he will not want to unless we get him into a frame of mind where he feels sufficiently bad about his offenses and his mode of life. Once this is achieved, or rather, hand in hand with it, we must help him to gain positive satisfactions and hope in a social way of life. We must provide the incentives for change and utilize them constructively.

We cannot adjust offenders socially unless we have definite, though not too rigid, moral and social values ourselves which we are not afraid to impose on the patient. This is what normalizes him. We must make the patient aware directly or indirectly that his behavior was bad so that he does not repeat it; we must make him aware that it is contrary to his interest to do so; and at the same time we must give him some hope of succeeding socially. Evoking anxiety or guilt and deflating and challenging him are as essential tools of therapy as encouragement, and usually should be used alternately.

Guilt is not necessarily a pathological reaction. Often it is a major therapeutic achievement to get the offender to feel guilty. The next step then is to utilize this guilt for constructive purposes, to motivate him to behave socially.

Lawyers and Social Workers in Juvenile Proceedings

EDGAR SILVERMAN

Assistant Director of Social Work, Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia

THE juvenile court is a socio-legal institution established by society for the administration of justice. As part of the machinery which has been devised for the control and management of antisocial behavior, the juvenile court takes its appropriate place in our judicial system, inheriting its essential structure and practices from the long and substantial tradition of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. As one court among others, therefore, the juvenile court is charged with the obligation to protect and to defend the community against the destructiveness of antisocial behavior. It also assumes the grave responsibility of protecting the rights of individuals from the severe and often ruthless processes of social retribution.

Protection of Rights

The role of the attorney in the juvenile court originates in the court's essential nature as a legal institution concerned with the administration of justice. The rights to counsel, to a fair hearing, etc., are as pertinent in a juvenile court as they are in a criminal court. The function of an attorney is to make these rights secure and to provide assurance that the legal safeguards of individuals charged with law violations are scrupulously observed. Nothing in the philosophy or practice of the juvenile court was ever contemplated by its architects as intending to limit these rights or to lessen their protection. The concepts

of the juvenile court were advanced to further, not diminish, the rights of children—to add to, not detract from, the welfare of those within its jurisdiction.

Many of our legal safeguards relate to the determination of involvement in the alleged offense and to the assumption of jurisdiction by the court. Society has entrusted great powers to all our courts, but in every instance jurisdiction over an alleged offender must be established in fact, by appropriate evidence produced and scrutinized in accord with sound legal principles. These matters fall within the particular competence of lawyers so that the proper determination of jurisdiction is a process which can call for the active participation of those trained in the law. It is a serious error to view the actions of the attorney as mere maneuvers to confuse and delay the court's determinations of jurisdiction or as technical stratagems calculated to minimize the child's responsibility for his behavior. A presumption of innocence is built into our system of jurisprudence. Casting doubt on allegations is not only proper; it is absolutely essential to the purposes of justice. Every allegation must survive this process in order to satisfy the requirement that involvement must be established, if not "beyond a reasonable doubt," then at least by the preponderance of evidence.

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Interest in the Disposition

The idea that the attorney's function is limited to the determination of involvement is also disputable. The lawyer has a part in the disposition of the case as well. In the eyes of the law, the attorney is the client. He speaks and acts for the client in the complicated task of assuring that the ends of justice will be truly served. The fact that the attorney can speak more eloquently and more persuasively than his client in court is no bar to his right to participate in the disposition proceedings. The attorney is obligated, by the ethics of his relationship with those he defends, to argue for a disposition in their best interests. It is presumptuous for us to assume that the attorney has anything less than his client's best interest at heart or that social workers have a monopoly on the wisdom and experience which should lie at the base of the court's final disposition. As social workers we would not deny the client his right to plead in his own behalf at any stage in the proceedings. His attorney is entitled to nothing less.

Concept of the Juvenile Court

The juvenile court, however, is not only a legal institution; it is also an agency in which society has invested its positive concern for children. About sixty years ago in Cook County, Illinois, this concern was crystallized for the first time in the creation of a specialized court for children. The creation of this court was prompted by the community's growing realization that traditional criminal court procedures were no longer appropriate as a method of dealing with children who, for one reason or another, had come into conflict with the laws and sanctions of society. This conception was paralleled by a mounting conviction that the state had a responsibility for all children within its jurisdiction, a responsibility to guarantee minimum standards of care for the young and to provide this care when it was not available for the child in his natural home.

The impact of juvenile court philosophy on the administration of criminal justice in these United States has been tremendous; we are still involved in implementing the fundamental shift in social philosophy which it represents. More than anything else, it is society's acknowledged sense of responsibility for the child which differentiates the juvenile court from criminal courts. It is no reflection on this concept that in practice some legal rights of children have been abridged in our juvenile courts. A great deal of the criticism of juvenile courts has been about equally divided, in intensity at least, between the accusation that the court denies the child his legal rights and the contention that the court "coddles" the juvenile offender at the expense of the community's welfare and comfort. Neither of these criticisms bears on the principles involved; each is relevant, rather, to the manner in which the principles are exercised.

Society's acknowledgment of responsibility for the juvenile offender is indeed a significant development in the history of criminal justice. From this simple legal doctrine flow many important implications. One of them is the concept of court action on behalf of rather than against the offender. Adversary procedures are neither necessary nor appropriate in a juvenile court; the welfare of the child is the central and unifying issue. Around such an issue the parents, the lawyer, the court, and so-

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ciety in general have an identity of interest. In fact, the interests of society in general are best served only when the needs of the child are effectively met. The juvenile court makes a real and lasting contribution to the comfort and security of the community to the extent that it achieves the purpose of meeting the child's needs.

The Social Worker's Contribution

The role of the social worker in the juvenile court originates, at least in part, in this concept of non-adversary proceedings on behalf of rather than against the offender. Social workers have found that they can function creatively in an authoritative court structure which administers helping services instead of punishment, which emphasizes growth and self-discipline rather than repression, and which seeks to cultivate, rather than to inhibit, the individual's capacity to be more responsible for his own behavior.

The role of the social worker in a iuvenile court can be defined in many ways; in practice, a wide and interesting variety of responsibilities is assigned to them. The special competence of the social worker lies, first of all, in his understanding of human behavior, particularly the conditioning effects of social relationships on what we do. This is of particular importance in juvenile courts, where the judge must order a disposition which will protect society and at the same time be consistent with the best interests of the child. After the facts of the complaint-what took place-and the court's right to exercise jurisdiction have been established, the judge must understand why the offense took place: What was the particular meaning of this offense for this child at this time? Through their skill in the casework process, social workers are equipped to interpret the meaning of behavior and hopefully to give the judge some basis of understanding on which to formulate an appropriate and helpful disposition. For only through understanding the needs of the child (needs which he has expressed in his antisocial behavior) are we able to discover a way of helping him to satisfy them in a more socially acceptable manner.

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Helping the judge to understand the offender and to select a disposition fitted to the offender's specific needs is only part of the contribution which social workers can make toward the realization of juvenile court purposes. In most cases the offender can remain in the community and work on the changes in his behavior necessary for a more satisfying and acceptable social adjustment. When this is done, the benefits to the individual and society are quite genuine. To assume, however, that behavior change can be accomplished merely by a lecture, or a warning, or a threat, or that it takes place through a "natural" process of maturation, is a mistake and a serious risk. Antisocial behavior is the product of complicated feelings: fear, hate, aggression, hostility, rebellion, insecurity, confusion, etc. We act the way we do because we feel the way we do. Dealing effectively with unacceptable social behavior requires treatment of feelings, in relation to those intimate family experiences out of which so many of our basic attitudes and feelings are generated.

Social workers are trained and specifically equipped to work with juvenile offenders on this basis. This is why courts use social workers extensively as probation officers and it is also why probation itself is increasingly recognized as a means of social

treatment. Casework supervision of juvenile probationers is one of the most important contributions the social worker makes to the rehabilitative services of the court.

The social worker can contribute to the fulfillment of the court's purposes at almost every point in the court process where the feelings of the offender (and his parents) are important and where the client must take responsibility for what he does and for what he really wants. Social workers are prepared to help a client make a responsible choice of alternatives at the point of intake, in the prehearing study, and in the period of court supervision.

This help can be extended only when the probation officer functions as an integral part of the court and when he is recognized as such by the judge and the client alike. Real help is not possible when the probation officer, for one reason or another, is splintered off from the judge or from the ultimate purpose of the courtnamely, to secure the offender's compliance with the law.

It is a mistake to cast the probation officer in a prosecutory role-to expect him to establish the case on which the court bases its jurisdiction. This is a legal function-in some communities, perhaps, one for the police; it is certainly not the social

worker's.

To confuse the probation officer's role by endowing it with the attributes and qualities of personal friendship is equally erroneous, and perhaps even more pernicious. Probation officers have too often been encouraged to deny the authoritative nature of their special responsibility. Sometimes it is the judge who thinks that dissociating the probation officer from authority will help the child more read-

ily accept the probation relationship. This is basically misleading, and it invariably results in confusion for all concerned. In his dealings with the client, the probation officer is the court, in all of its aspects. No separation of the probation officer from the court and its authority is possible in the eyes of the client who sees the probation officer in his inevitable authority role, no matter what we say or do about it. The probationer's suspicions and distrust of the court only grow when we confuse his concept of the probation officer's role. This does not mean that the officer cannot be helpful professionally. His helpfulness is enhanced, rather than limited, when his authority is accepted and when he can exercise it firmly, openly, and with con-

The social worker's role is not judicial; the judge alone is responsible for court decisions which determine the legal status of the client. Nor is the worker's role an impartial one. The probation officer is sympathetic to the needs, the aspirations, and the potential capacity of the offender to seek a place for himself in society as a responsible person; he also speaks and acts for the community, in the sense that only through restoring the offender to normal social living is society's ultimate interest furthered and permanently secured.

Professional Cooperation

No conflict should exist between the attorney and the social worker in juvenile court proceedings: indeed, they should be complementary. The attorney's principal contribution, though not his only one, centers on the adjudication process. As the case moves toward a disposition, the contribution of the social worker becomes

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increasingly important. But this distinction becomes less significant as mutual understanding and respect increase. When the attorney comprehends and accepts the social worker's advocacy of his client's best interests, and the social worker comprehends the attorney's contribution and acknowledges its appropriateness and its worth, they do not need to engage in a struggle to influence the court process.

Attorneys and social workers can cooperate professionally in at least two specific areas: (1) the court report and (2) helping the client to use the

court constructively.

The court report is usually written prior to a disposition hearing and for the use of the judge. Preparing it is the sole responsibility of the probation officer; in content, in form, and in style of presentation it must reflect his findings. It is essentially a court document, designed exclusively for the judge. Ordinarily, it should not be shared with the attorney, or anyone else for that matter, prior to the judge's consideration of it. In most cases, however, sound practice calls for the probation officer and the attorney to discuss the contents of the report fully, along with its recommendation and its underlying justifications, in advance of the hearing. The attorney has every right to know what is being proposed in substance and why, so that he can formulate his own approach to the disposition hearing and be guided accordingly. The willingness of the probation officer to share the substance of his findings with the attorney and to discuss his recommendations fully has a great deal to do with building understanding and acceptance of his role in the eyes of the attorney. Conversely, the attorney must approach such a discussion with an attitude of respect for the probation officer's findings and some willingness to trust the worker's judgment on the wording of the final report. In such an atmosphere of mutual confidence, the discussion can produce significant and beneficial results for all concerned.

In practice, we find that the attorney can often be instrumental in helping his client to make a more effective use of court services, including an acceptance of the court's eventual disposition. He is often in a position to reach the client with a positive interpretation of the court's function in a way which may not otherwise be possible. This includes encouraging the child (and his parents) to keep appointments, to overcome suspicion and hostility toward the probation officer, and to abide by other conditions which may be required.

There are instances, of course, where circumstances make it difficult for such purposes to be accomplished. This should not affect the readiness of the probation officer to work cooperatively with the attorney, to share developments with him candidly as the social study progresses, and to request the attorney's participation wherever it would seem to serve a useful purpose. To be sure, this calls for thought, discrimination, and much careful effort. But only in this manner can the maximum benefits of professional cooperation be realized.

Working cooperatively to achieve the court's objectives and respecting each other's contribution, the attorney and the social worker can produce a service which, at its best, preserves legal rights, protects society, and contributes to a more satisfactory situation for the child one in which he can develop his potential for responsible social living. you have you have ing

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How Can the Correctional School Correct?

CHARLES H. SHIREMAN

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PROBABLY all of us who have anything to do with the care of young people in correctional schools have been asked accusingly, "You say you want to help me, but what good is it going to do to keep me locked up for months at a time?" And most of us would admit that occasionally we have a disquieting and guilt-producing fear that we can't answer the question satisfactorily.

We are convinced—or at least we hope—that institutional care will help, but we cannot always say exactly how. In many cases, too, we see youths leaving the correctional school and fear that we have failed with them; often, we don't honestly know why.

In recent years we have done much to eliminate faulty practices; now, we should know precisely what we may expect the correctional school to accomplish, how it can do this—and what it cannot do.

We now generally agree that our task—at least in theory—is to re-educate and rehabilitate, rather than to provide mere incarceration or retributive punishment. For a long time we have assured the general public, legislators, and one another that this is the cornerstone of our policy. Yet we are not quite clear ourselves about what the institution can actually do in the way of re-education and re-habilitation.

What should the correctional school do for its charges? It is surprising how frequently one still hears the view, from institutional personnel as well as from interested citizens, that what delinquent youth needs is punishment as a deterrent—and more severe punishment if the deterrent doesn't seem at first to deter.

Another group thinks our primary goal is to provide more individual therapy. The extreme proponents of this view see the correctional school as a sort of holding center where children are housed and cared for while they wait for their treatment hours. Daily life in the institution is important, but largely as an adjunct to individual therapy.

From another discouraged groupperhaps the fastest growing of allcomes the suspicion that the correctional institution has in fact little to offer in the way of rehabilitation. At best, some say, such an institution can protect youngsters for a time from injuring themselves or the public. It may hold them until, in at least a few cases, the natural process of maturation brings greater stability. The supporters of this theory hope that, if a child is kept "on ice" for a few months or years, somehow he or his environment may change for the better before he is released.

None of these theories is very frequently set forth in scholarly papers. Usually they are not stated formally at all; they are, however, implied in the actions of many persons who are

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actually doing the job in the institution, or who are determining the job others shall do.

Many of us would not agree with any of these approaches, or would say that each of them plays a part in a much more complicated whole. But as long as we fail to clarify the goals we do set for ourselves, as long as we fail to state exactly what sort of experience we think the institution should provide its wards, we are tremendously handicapped.

This handicap is particularly obvious where staff training is concerned. Most of us believe that staff training programs are necessary-but some of us have seen even conscientiously planned programs fail. One reason for such failure is that staff training programs often do not have a precise definition of the institution's task to work on.1 We intend our training program to give our staff a deeper understanding of the personalities of our charges, but we make it so broad that it scarcely seems to apply to practice. Indeed, until we decide much more precisely what we are trying to do for our wards, we are obligated either to make our program broad and theoretical, or to concentrate on a day-by-day functioning on the job.

This writer is sure that the institution's task cannot be summed up by such short phrases as "deterrent treatment" or "individual psychotherapy," or "protective care." Neither does he think, indeed, that he himself can describe the institution's task fully. He doubts whether we have yet applied to institutions enough of our knowledge of the human personality for anyone to be able to do this. However, some of the experiences which the correctional school can provide do stand out as particularly important.

A Healthy Experience with Authority

One of our goals should certainly be to give the institutional ward a healthy relationship with authority figures. Rebellion against authority, whether of the parent, the school, or society in general, is one of the most common elements in the personality of delinquent youth. Case studies show that this rebellion tends to come about as a quite natural result of embittering experience. Parents, or others who have represented authority to the child, may have taught him to fear, hate, or despise authority and the persons who exercise it. Such people may have been hostile, inconsistent, or weak in their treatment of the child or may have rejected or misunderstood him. The youth to whom authority has been so represented throughout his formative years will carry over his attitudes into other situations. This has frequently been at the root of his antisocial behavior. When such a boy comes to the institution he will not interpret a rule or a command in the way in which (we hope) it is given. He automatically resents it and, depending on the nature of his experience with authority in the past, may either struggle against it or evade it.

Our task, therefore, is to help the

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¹This is not always true, however. See, for example: Alex C. Sherrifs and Mary Duren, "The Los Guilicos Project" and "Increasing the Effectiveness of Correctional Institution Staff," California Youth Authority Quarterly, Fall, 1950, pp. 7-21, and Winter, 1950, pp. 3-20. Many of the ideas in this paper were stimulated by these articles on an imaginative in-service training program.

young person understand through exes he perience that authority can be exercan cised firmly but fairly, with sympafully. thetic regard for his welfare and with t aprespect for him as a worthwhile perour son, entitled to have his wishes and nality rights considered. We can't do this Howmerely by "reasoning" with a youngwhich ster. Words aren't enough. He must ovide learn by living with authority that is firm, fair, and based on the conviction that the institutional ward remains a human being-one extraordinarily sensitive to the abuse of au-

> To provide such an environment is perhaps the most difficult task the institution faces. It must be staffed by personnel who can learn to exercise the proper authority and who can continue to do so even though, as the maxim has it, "power corrupts." They must be so richly mature and so well provided with helpful supervision that they use their power only in the interests of their job of personality reconstruction, never for their own satisfaction.

thority and to being "kicked around."

Every staff member must make a constant, conscientiously honest scrutiny of his own use of authority. We must carefully analyze every order we give, every regulation we enforce. We must understand how our order is going to appear to the ward, and what are our motives in giving it. Is is actually necessary to the welfare of the ward or of the group? If so, does the ward understand this? If he does not, can we explain it to him so that he will see its necessity? Does the ward reject our order because of the manner in which we gave it? Have we shown him that we respect him and his wishes and have taken them into consideration as much as possible? Or are

we looking for the easy way out and enforcing an unnecessary or senseless order or one calculated to meet our own need for recognition or power? Are we being honest with the boy? Are we being careful that he sees that we are being honest with him?

In short, is the ward's experience with authority in the institution a corrective one? Will it give a new, healthier concept of the nature of authority? Or will it further embitter him, further convince him that authority is something to evade, to struggle against, and to hate?

Use of Limits

Proper limits upon youngsters' behavior can be of value to them. By setting such limits, we can provide an environment simple enough for a youngster to master; in mastering this simple society he may gain confidence and learn techniques for mastering the more complicated world outside the institution. For the adolescent must, in his normal life, make a great many difficult choices between right and wrong, between short-term desires and long-term values and between socially approved and antisocial behavior. His mother and father can no longer make decisions for him. He is becoming an independent person, and at the same time he is becoming aware of urges and temptations that he was only vaguely aware of before.

Many youngsters, because of faulty endowment or damaging life experience, are simply not capable of accepting this responsibility. They cannot cope with the freedom of choice and the variety of temptations that adolescence brings. They are not "grown up" enough to postpone immediate satisfaction in favor of the

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ethically right, or the socially acceptable, or even of long-term personal gain.

The institution may serve at least some of these young people like the sanitarium which provides rest care for t.b. victims. Such care protects the patient against the demands that life makes upon his energies. All his strength can be devoted to the fight

against his disease.

By the same token, the correctional school ward may need protection against many of the demands of life. He may need to have some of the most difficult decisions made for him by the limits the institution sets on his behavior; then he can use all his moral and psychological strength to solve a smaller number of problems. He will still have to make decisions on questions of right and wrong and conformance or nonconformance, but the decisions will be fewer, and their results more immediate and more clear. He may thus gain confidence by learning to master these small problems successfully and may begin to discover his own strengths and to see the possibility of gaining satisfaction from self-control and social conformity. Ultimately he may come to appreciate the value of right for right's sake.

Obviously the limits set by the institution must not be too narrow. If the youngster is to learn to make choices, he must have some room to choose. He must have the opportunity to learn from trial and error; his initiative must not be stifled. Too much restriction leads to "institutionalization"—the creation of persons unable to live outside the sheltering walls of the institution. But in the proper use of limits upon be-

havior we may have another tool for the reconstruction of personality.

Socially Acceptable Achievement

Another valuable experience that we can give our wards is that of achievement of a goal that society approves. Many youngsters rarely, if ever, have known the feeling of selfconfidence and social approval that such achievement brings. Unsure that they are loved and wanted at home, entering school unprepared or illequipped and gaining from it only a sense of failure, personal inadequacy, and social rejection, and seeing no way open to them to function successfully as conforming adults, they have sometimes turned to antisocial activities, partially as a means of showing themselves and others that they are capable, adult, and virile. Auto theft, bullying aggression, or demonstration of sexual prowess are ways of gaining a sort of recognition and feeling of personal accomplishment they cannot otherwise get.

There are many ways in which the correctional school can help its wards to gain this feeling of personal achievement. Sports programs, assignment of tasks or functions with which recognition is associated, shop and trade programs are all possibilities. The academic school program, also, can do something even more important than teaching the "three R's." It can give the youngster a chance to start work at a level at which he can be successful, and stimulate him to move forward at a pace which challenges without defeating. With such a program, many youngsters may for the first time in their lives see school as something other than a baffling series of frustrations marking them cess, of h func stead

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them as failures. Success breeds success, and the boy may begin to think of himself as one who is capable of functioning successfully in society instead of as the eternal "dummy."

A prerequisite of such a program is, of course, sound diagnosis of each boy's strengths as well as of his limitations. Our clinical studies must seek the positives in the youngster's personality to help us determine what we can build upon. All too often we may search through these studies and find detailed analysis of a youngster's failures and weaknesses but little recognition of his strengths.

Peer Relationships

Many of the young people who come to us have never been able to get along with others of their own age. Some have drawn into themselves and have, to varying degrees, become social isolates. Others have become very aggressive in their attempt to force people to recognize and accept them. But the basic trouble with many of the children is that they are lonely or unhappy, or unsure that they are loved and liked by others. We may be able to do little about whatever it is that caused the trouble originally. But we may very well be able to provide our wards with an environment that will at least help them to begin to achieve social acceptance in their own age group.

The social pressures of group life may do much to help. Many young people are adaptable enough to learn from their fellows in a group that tends to enforce codes of social living. They begin to understand some of the elements of successful group membership: mutual tolerance, ability to cooperate, and ability to live with

others without losing their own identity.

But we are treading on dangerous ground here. We dare not merely throw a boy into a group and trust that the experience will be beneficial. Other youngsters can be cruel, both physically and in less tangible ways. The boy who becomes a member of a poorly supervised group may be made to feel more inadequate than ever, or may be driven to try to solve his problem by becoming even more

bullyingly aggressive.

We must, therefore, see that the youngsters do not go beyond reasonable limits in their treatment of each other. Our wards, who are usually deeply disturbed youngsters who have not solved their own problems, tend to be angry and resentful at the world and to "take out" their feelings on anyone they can. They should never be permitted, for example, to administer punishment to others. How can we possibly expect them to think objectively of the needs of the one to be punished, as they would have to do in order to administer punishment that would help rather than harm the recipient?

However, supervision must not only restrict; it must be positive, too. Wise counseling can provide encouragement and advice to the timid, and friendly caution to the overaggressive. Some of our wards simply do not know the fundamentals of getting along in a group. Often we can help them to understand that they can best win the liking of others by showing that they like others, or we can show them the results of their own boastful or bullying behavior.

Proper activity programs can also help in the teaching of group citizen-

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With ers may ves see than a narking ship. Sports, group games, and other recreation are often thought of only as rather unimportant ways of permitting youngsters an occasional good time, or as a sort of indulging or pampering of our wards. But, as some other countries have come to realize sooner than we, such activities can actually provide valuable training. Activities should be varied enough to give as much opportunity as possible for everyone to participate; they should provide a healthy group experience which exploits the potentialities of each child and helps him find his place in the group. Such programs can teach our wards to be cooperating citizens of society by actually functioning as citizens of a small group. It is most unfortunate that often our recreation and sports programs are unplanned and only incidental to the institution's main program. Actually, they should be considered a major resource for correctional work: they should be planned just as carefully as our academic training and should be led by personnel possessing qualifications just as high as those of our academic teachers.

Another problem is that the boys in an institution tend to form a complex of unofficial, sometimes littlerecognized subgroups whose goals and identifications are different from those of the institution's staff. Such groups often determine the institution's impact upon the individual. We cannot eliminate these cliques and friendship groups, although all too often we tend either to try to do so or to ignore them. We must, however, constantly seek ways of penetrating them. Perhaps we can learn from the work of the street gang workers, who have recently been functioning in so creative a way in some cities. We may be able to apply the same techniques to our problem in the institution. We may be able to do much through the right type of adult effort to meet such groups on their own ground, to identify with some of their goals in a legitimate manner. We must seek the friendly acceptance of such groups, and try to develop shared goals and interests with them, and to build bridges between them and the administration.

Relationship with an Older Adult

Almost all adolescents pass through a stage of hero-worship of an older acquaintance or associate. They will imitate this person's mannerisms, ways of speaking, and attitudes and will frequently want to choose the same career. As they are leaving child-hood they seize upon this figure as the representation of the kind of adult they hope to become. Of course, it is vitally important to society that the man whom the adolescent chooses to imitate and follow be the right kind of person.

In the case of the normal, healthy youngster this "hero" may be a school teacher, an athletic coach, a recreation leader, an employer, or some other person capable of wielding a powerful influence for good. But the youngster who grows up in an antisocial environment, or who has a hard time getting along with people who seem to him to represent either an authority which he resents or a society that has been hostile and has rejected him, may choose someone quite different. This may be a gang leader, a criminal, or some other strongly antisocial figure.

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Moral Values

It is not unreasonable to hope that our wards will leave the institution with a strengthened sense of the value of "right for right's sake"—with a desire to avoid delinquent behavior not only because it might bring punishment but because it is wrong. But although we may hope that ideas of basic honesty and respect for the rights of others will gain some ground, we certainly cannot be sure that this will happen.

Youngsters learn from their experience of life. And many of them have learned, from their families and neighborhoods, that it is simply not practical to live by doing what is right for its own sake. We can't combat this lesson from life by lectures. But we can combat it to some degree by giving our charges a different, more positive experience of life. Do we wish our youngsters to learn respect for the rights of others? All right: let us show them that others respect their rights. Do we want them to gain some concept of basic honesty? Then let us be sure that they see that we are honest with them. In a fair number of years of experience the writer can remember very few cases in which it was either ethically or, in the long run, practically desirable to lie to a

youngster. But he can, unfortunately, remember a great many cases in which a lie has been told.

Here, then, is another experience that the correctional school must strive to give young persons in its care—a living lesson in social ethics, learnt through being on the receiving end of ethical behavior.

The Role of Counseling

Thus far we have spoken almost entirely of the rehabilitative possibilities of wisely controlled group-living. We have made very little mention of the role of individual counseling. However, such counseling is probably the indispensable "other half" of the experience we should offer youth under our care.

Without individual counseling, our wards are quite liable to misinterpret the experience they are undergoing, for they will interpret it in terms of their own pasts. Those whose experience has been that adults in authority over them are hostile, selfish, and inconsistent will expect all authority to be of this nature. Consequently, they will automatically fear and hate any person, or rule, or regulation which symbolizes authority.

In the institution we wish to use authority only as a way to help the child and to teach him how to fit into society and to be happy. With the best intentions, we impose upon him rules and regulations that are carefully planned for his welfare. But he doesn't see them that way. Since his life has taught him that all authority is hateful, he sees us just as so many additions to the long line of persons who have been "kicking him around."

Individualized counseling can help many youngsters to see for the first

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time that their present experience with authority is different from their past experience. Frequently it can help them to see that they are uselessly rebelling against something that no longer exists. Sometimes a youngster comes to realize this when the counselor helps him to think back over past unhappy experiences, talk about them, come to understand them better, and come to see the difference between past relationships with authority and present ones. In other cases, close examination of an unhappy past may be neither wise nor possible. The counselor may restrict himself to helping the youngster analyze and understand the experience he is having at the moment. But in either event the counselor must help the youngsters to see that they must revise their ideas about the attitudes of people in authority over them. Only then can they profit from the new experience we are trying to offer them, for only then can they understand it.

Counseling is just as necessary to

help us attain all the institution's other goals. None of our efforts can be constructive unless the ward understands them in the manner in which they are meant. All of them are liable to misinterpretation unless the ward, through patient and skillful counseling, learns to evaluate them correctly.

This writer, like most others in the field, has been baffled by many cases. Youngsters with whom he has worked hardest have sometimes failed most miserably. Others who had shown few indications of successful adjustment have made tremendous progress. We are still at the pioneering stage in our profession. There is much that we do not see, or see only vaguely, and much of what we do see we do not understand. We are still groping with poorly formed tools to reach "shores dimly seen." But we are learning constantly. One way to advance is surely by the constant and painstaking analysis of the experience we offer our wards, and the way in which they assimilate it.

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The AWOL from a Juvenile Institution*

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THE problem of the AWOL, which faces institutions in general, is particularly troublesome in correctional institutions; it is most acute in a correctional institution which follows an open program with many privileges.

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The Utah State Industrial School is such an institution. It is the only facility of its kind in the state for the confinement of delinquents, both boys and girls. The juvenile courts commit to it the nine-year-old shoplifters and "firebugs," the eleven-year-old persistent truants and prowlers, the fifteen-year-old car thieves, and the sixteen- and seventeen-year-old armed robbers; in addition, it takes girls confined for running away, for sexual promiscuity, and for being accomplices in delinquency.

Although the open program helps most of the students, it is a temptation and even a frightening experience to some of them. Almost any youngster who is tempted, or unable to control his emotional tensions, and who is determined enough, can go

AWOL from the institution. To combat this, the administration must provide an institutional environment that is regulated but also flexible enough to expand and contract to fit the needs and experience of each student.

In January, 1954 we were very much troubled by a series of AWOL's. A particularly disturbing incident made us determined to try to do something about the problem. Eleven boys had run from a supervisor while returning from a basketball game at which they had had a good time under good supervision. After they had been rounded up, investigation revealed that most of them had no intention of running, but when one boy, Vern, had shouted "Cut!" the eleven broke from the group and ran. Vern was a good-looking, bright young man, but very unstable. He was impulsive, a slave to immediate gratification; he had run away all his life-from home, public school, foster homes, and now our school.

After some deliberation, we decided to meet this group AWOL problem with group action. We reviewed the cases of our most persistent AWOL's. Sixteen boys had accounted for 61 per cent of the AWOL's during the

[•] At the time this article was written, Mr. Cambareri and Mr. Sagers were working at the Utah State Industrial School—the former as the clinical psychologist and the latter as the assistant superintendent; Mr. Tatton was then director of group living.

past year. Thus it was not a general problem, but a specific one for a small minority of the children. We decided that the AWOL is a student with many inner personal conflicts, and in conflict socially with his group as well as with persons representing authority. We had tried individual counseling, lock-up, and reprograming and had not been able to change the pattern of behavior of the AWOL's. We decided to try group work.

The three of us-the assistant superintendent, the director of group living, and the psychologist-differed in background and experience, but we were alike in our determination to meet the problem. None of us was an expert in group work. The duties of one were primarily administrative; the duties of another were partially administrative, with responsibility for in-service training and service to children; and the duties of the third were mostly diagnostic. We met, selected our group members by taking turns at choosing from the list, and started our sessions-two with five students each and one with six.

Group S, which met with the assistant superintendent, was structured very closely around specific problems: "runaway," "more privileges," "use of lockup," "home visits." The director of group living, who was the leader of Group T, gave his meetings rather less structure; he directed the discussion around the AWOL problem and followed the interest of the group whenever a fruitful area of discussion seemed to offer itself. Group C was relatively unstructured. The psychologist introduced himself and the boys did the same. The group moved into areas of discussion which were comfortable to them-"exploits

on the outside," "sports activity," "unfairness of the administration," etc.

For a couple of months the groups met regularly one evening a week. Among the boys' activities, apart from discussions, was a round robin basketball tournament, with the loser buying the malts. They formed group identifications and made friends with other boys; above all, they stayed on campus.

In spite of the group leaders' differences in personality and training and their different methods of dealing with discussions, their results were uniformly gratifying. In Group S one boy went AWOL in the early weeks, was returned, was accepted in the group again, and remained for several months before he was released. The other four members did not run away before their release. Two boys in Group T went AWOL immediately following the third meeting, while they were being returned to their living quarters. These two boys were returned to the group the following week to continue in the group sessions. After that none of the five members of the group ran away before release from the School. One boy from Group C ran away twice, bringing the total number of times he had been AWOL up to fourteen. This lad never did learn to curb his desire to run away, but the other five eventually earned their release.

The administrative advantages of the program are clear:

1. The incidence of AWOL's in the Industrial School dropped a significant 75 per cent and we had fewer "repeaters" of the type we worked with in the groups.

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less concerned about security problems, and the student and staff morale improved.

3. Costs in terms of runaway students were reduced; we diverted the funds to leisure time programs.

4. Our total population was reduced because we had to hold fewer students for long periods of time (as we had to hold AWOL's). This increased the ratio of personnel to students and helped us to give more effective treatment to the general student population.

We cannot be certain exactly how we achieved these results. The group meetings probably provided:

1. A change in the social mileu of the AWOL from an out-group which achieved status by asocial and unacceptable behavior to an in-group which achieved status by participation in special activities.

2. An opportunity to form a socially acceptable gang with its concomitant group super-ego, group status, and group goals.

3. A new environment for treatment which seemed acceptable to the youngsters.

The psychological effects of the group meetings were as follows:

1. The meetings were an opportunity for catharsis and ventilation of individual hostility; the subjects' feelings of guilt were mitigated because of group interaction and commonness of feelings.

2. The leaders' acceptance, without reciprocity, of extremely aggressive actions against themselves broke the inevitable cycle of "anxiety-aggressionguilt-punishment-atonement-anxiety."

3. The special activity group was in itself ego-sustaining to these stu-

dents, who frequently have extremely poor ego-concepts.

4. The group gave these students, who in most instances have been cruelly rejected, a feeling of belonging and being wanted by someone, even if it was only by a delinquent group and a leader.

5. The weekly sessions provided a series of short-term goals to which the boys pointed in anticipation; they served as an anchor that kept them from week to week.

6. The leader became a meaningful adult in authority to boys who have rarely known such a person.

Under the circumstances it is amazing that these group sessions should have been so effective. The philosophies of the leaders varied: our fields were divergent, our modus operandi was different, and the satisfactions we received from our groups were not the same. In retrospect, however, we find that our primary and immediate goal was the same—to reduce the number of AWOL's. In this aim we were successful. However, we could not be so sure whether basic and permanent changes had taken place in the boys' personalities.

This experiment gave us no grounds for predicting how many of the boys would continue to stay out of trouble or out of institutions. We could not predict how many will in future face their problems directly rather than run away from them. We could not predict how the relationships we helped to foster between the delinquent boys in the groups may carry over into asocial activities in the community. We may have been influenced by expediency to initiate a measure which might not be best in the long run. However, we must take

consolation in the old institutional axiom: "You can't treat 'em if you don't keep 'em." One can accomplish little when the child one is treating is AWOL.

We have learned from this and similar experiences that a series of group sessions can help solve many other problems common to institutional management and treatment of students. Since 1954 we have used group sessions to help a group of eight youngsters who were extremely fearful of aggression from their peers to move out of a protective unit into regular cottage activity, and to help seven bashful, timid boys to move out into co-educational activities. Three out of five girls who were considered nearly unmanageable because of their rampant aggressiveness were aided by group sessions and became positive leaders in the cottage. A group of parents were helped to accept the commitment of their children to the Industrial School. Sessions with several groups of students in our aftercare program helped them considerably in their community adjustment.

During the past few years the facilities of the Industrial School have substantially broadened and increased. Since the humble beginning of this group treatment program in 1954, many well-trained persons have been added to the institution staff; they provide enough services to strengthen the overall treatment program, and the AWOL presents less of a problem than before. However, we believe that group sessions and group therapy will continue to be a vital influence in our care of delinquent boys and girls.

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The Juvenile Court and Restitution

JOSEPH L. THIMM*

Casework Supervisor, Multnomah County Juvenile Court, Portland, Oregont

N A large city a few years ago the following incident was reported:

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A group of teen-aged boys was absorbed in a game of scrub softball. Standing at home plate with a bat on his shoulder, fifteen-year-old Harry Arnold heard one of the boys tell him to get out of the batter's box. Harry replied: "Go to hell!" The boy in the field advanced on Harry. "What did you say?" "Nothing," replied Harry, retreating until he was against the backstop. "You going to apologize?" the boy threatened. "About what?" asked Harry. Suddenly the boy faked a blow at Harry. The baseball bat in Harry's hands came down hard on the boy's jaw and shoulder. A frightened Harry threw down the bat and ran home.

A few hours after the incident Harry Arnold was in the detention home. During the following week a thorough social investigation was completed and Harry was seen by the staff psychiatrist. The psychiatric evaluation confirmed the probation officer's opinion that Harry was a fairly normal boy. He had a good school record and no previous court referrals. The family's income was in the category labeled "marginal" but the parents and the children got along

well with one another; their family feeling was marked by strength, stability, affection, and loyalty. The assault incident was situational: threatened, Harry had panicked and in desperation had use the baseball bat as a weapon.

At the juvenile court hearing a few weeks later, the judge, after reviewing the total situation, placed Harry on probation; he specified, as part of this disposition, a restitution provision of \$350, deemed sufficient to cover the medical and dental expenses of the injured boy.

This situation illustrates the dilemma faced by juvenile courts in cases in which restitution may be considered. The emotion and concern generated by incidents of personal injury and by cases of theft and vandalism sometimes shift the emphasis away from where it belongs—the child and the court's responsibility toward him.

Precisely because this perplexing juvenile court question has no single or simple answer, what is needed is a logical approach that will serve to ease community and individual emotion and at the same time recognize that the framework of juvenile court philosophy leaves room for restitution.

Payment under Protest

The need for a logical approach is further highlighted by Harry Arnold's situation. Harry was a full-time student; he did not have a job. Even if he were to find an after-school job, \$350 was a vast sum to a boy of his age

^{*} The author is grateful to William H. Sheridan, Chief, Technical Aid Branch, Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service, U.S. Children's Bureau, for information used in the preparation of this article.

[†] This was the position Mr. Thimm held at the time the article was written. He is now the consultant to the Washington Citizens Council and the Montana Council on Corrections of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency (formerly National Probation and Parole Association).—Ed.

and circumstances; and even if he could comprehend the goal of restitution in this amount, actually attaining it would seem impossible.

The Arnolds, as conscientious parents, felt compelled to begin payments on that order, even though they were strapped financially. During the whole time the probation officer supervised this case, he was met by bitterness and antagonism on the part of Harry and his parents. Their attitude toward the court in particular and authority in general was one of outright hostility: they could not understand how Harry's action could be viewed as anything other than self-defense. And yet Harry and his parents faithfully maintained the schedule of a small restitution payment every month. It was only when the parents of the injured boy moved from town two years after the incident that the matter was closed-with \$150 still owing.

Implications of Responsibility

Acting as agents of the community and usually reflecting the predominant community attitude, juvenile courts usually approach the restitution problem by holding that the child, not his parent, is responsible for his torts; the child therefore-not his parent-is obligated to make restitution for injury to another's person or property. But frequently the practical effect of this point of view does not coincide with the court's intention. As far as the average teen-ager is concerned, efforts to collect restitution directly from his own labors become meaningless when the amount is out of proportion to what he can earn on his own. The experience of the average urban court indicates that few of these youngsters are gainfully

employed; to insist that they find employment is to ignore reality—the lack of employment opportunities for teen-agers in today's labor market.

Hence, in suggesting restitution plans in cases of vandalism and personal injury, the juvenile court's probation officers should consider ways and means of payment derived from sources other than employment—for example, the child's allowance, or some other arrangements to be made with the parents. Responsible parents can participate constructively in the restitution plan by arranging additional chores for the child and by firmly adhering to a regime of deprivation of privileges.

Unfortunately, what often occurs in juvenile court practice is that a schedule of payments far too high for the youngster is established as a probation condition. Since the burden of payment is thus placed upon the parents, this is tantamount to saying that the parents are responsible for the torts of the child. The Arnold case cited earlier is an example of this. Socially and legally, it is a highly questionable practice, particularly since most states have so-called "contributing" statutes under which parents can be held criminally liable, and also provisions for enforcing parental liability under civil statutes where parental fault is found.

Parental Responsibility Laws

Juvenile court restitution practices, even in combination with existing contributing and civil statutes, have obviously not prevented the passage of parental responsibility laws assessing limited liability against parents without fault. Just within the last few years Michigan, Nebraska, California, and Oregon have passed legis-

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lation placing responsibility on parnd ements. Such laws are undoubtedly ne lack aimed at decreasing the incidence of es for vandalism and personal injury, but rket. we have little statistical information itution that this aim has been achieved. Unnd perfortunately, the by-products of legal t's proaction permitted by these laws can be r ways serious where parent-child relationd from ships are already seriously warped. ent-for Evidence of this exists in the casence, or loads of many probation officers. Also, e made since parental liability laws have, in parents a sense, universal applicability, they in the do not account directly for particug addilarities, for any one of the great number of causes of delinquency.

In many states and local communities, parental responsibility laws on destruction of school property have been on the statute books for a long time. If the New Jersey experience is typical-the state has had a p.r. law on the books since 1903 without one suit ever having been filed against a parent-the practicality of such a law is questionable, although it would have to be admitted that its existence has probably been influential in helping local school boards collect money from parents for damage perpetrated by their children. In practice, local school investigators present parents with a copy of the law defining parental responsibility and it is their belief that the law makes it easier to collect payment from less responsible parents. This has also been the experience in Portland.

The 1959 Oregon legislature passed a parental responsibility law with liability to \$100, apparently compromised in committee from the original \$250. The bill did not create a great deal of discussion or opposition. The tranquillity surrounding the bill's legislative movement and passage

probably reflects two attitudes of professionals in the juvenile court field: first, they are not convinced one way or another about the effects of such legislation; second, they are convinced that passage doesn't matter anyway since few if any suits will be filed under the new statute. These attitudes reveal how long overdue are studies that will look into the operation of p.r. laws, not only for their significance to the narrow question of restitution but also for their place in broad child-family perspectives.

One final thought on the legal aspect of parental responsibility laws concerns their constitutionality. Little understood by court social workers is that, under the common law, a parent can be held responsible for the torts of the child if he entrusts or negligently leaves available to the child a highly dangerous instrument; or if he entrusts a nondangerous instrument to a child who he knows or reasonably should know is unable to handle it properly; or if he fails to restrain the child from dangerous activity imperiling others when he knows or should know of the propensities of the child toward such conduct. But it has long been accepted as a pervading legal principle that parents are not liable for the torts of their children where the fault principle is not involved.1 The parental responsibility statutes are, therefore, in conflict with basic common law principles of tort responsibility. Perhaps an ap-

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¹A possible exception to this is found in the debatable "family purpose" doctrine applied to motor vehicles alone at this point, whereby the courts have found parents liable when they simply permit a member of the immediate family to use the automobile, and damage or injury to someone else's property or person is the result of such use. "Family Responsibility in Torts," Vanderbilt Law Review, June, 1956, pp. 809-846.

pellate court faced with this argument would hold a p.r. statute invalid.

Focus on the Child

The question of "who is responsible for the acts of these children," like any other question of delinquent behavior, is not susceptible of easy solution. Possibly what is needed is a compromise between the "do nothing" camp and the "punish the parents" advocates. Parental responsibility laws demonstrate only the community's frustration and its urge to "do something" to reduce delinquency. Their passage is not based on facts proving their effectiveness for this purpose. In a sense they exhibit the American penchant to solve big problems in the easiest possible way. The illogic of such laws was aptly expressed by Sol Rubin, NCCD counsel:

The older laws say—punish the parents because they are responsible. [Recent financial responsibility laws say]—punish the parents even if they aren't responsible, because that will teach them to be responsible!²

The juvenile court, through its prestige in the community and its first-hand acquaintance with delinquency, can lead the effort to establish a middle way between punitive parental responsibility laws and a "do nothing" approach. The following statement on restitution, by the Advisory Council of Judges, sets a standard which is a guide to court procedure and, at the same time, offers the community a logical approach to the problem.

Whether used as a separate disposition or as a condition of probation, restitution should always be part of but not in lieu of treatment. The court's chief concern is the change in behavior of the child and this can never be conclusively demonstrated by requiring payment of any sum of money. The change in behavior as well as the concern of the public may call for restitution. (It should be noted that some judges believe restitution should not be required by the juvenile court but should be handled as a separate civil action by the party seeking restitution.)

Properly used, restitution emphasizes accountability for the natural and reasonable consequences of one's acts, and that one cannot have "fun" at the other fellow's expense. The court must make clear to the parents that restitution does not automatically guarantee the correction of any weakness in the child but that it does help the court in its understanding of the child in two ways. First, it gives a clearer indication of the sincerity of the child's regrets for what has taken place, and second, it helps clarify the degree of responsibility which the parents have concerning their child as they encourage him in his efforts to earn money for restitution A delinquent child making restitution is forced to meet certain demands which may be therapeutic, but restitution by parents is not therapeutic treatment for a child.

Careful judgment must be used by the court in requiring restitution, particularly where it is made a condition of probation with a threat of commitment in case of failure to pay, for the commitment the becomes a matter of punishment becaus of such failure and not a judicial choic of treatment based on the child's curren needs. Capacity and ability to pay varie and even the payment of five dollars month may not be possible. Restitution when used, must therefore be realistic an within the capacity and ability of the individual.²

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^{*}Sol Rubin, Crime and Juvenile Delinquency, New York, NPPA and Oceana Publications, p. 40.

^aAdvisory Council of Judges of the N tional Probation and Parole Association cooperation with the National Council Juvenile Court Judges, Guides for Juvenile Court Judges, New York, National Probatio and Parole Association, 1957, pp. 81-82.

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Staff Attitudes and Practices

The experience of the Multnomah County Juvenile Court illustrates an effort to standardize restitution procedures; a brief description of it may be helpful to other juvenile courts struggling with the problem.

This court's judges and probation officers have always considered restitution a strong possibility in cases where persons were injured by theft, assault, vandalism, etc. Restitution has been viewed as necessary where a comprehensive case study showed it to be a "therapeutic" means of helping a boy.

Except in cases of vandalism to school property, Oregon statutes until recently protected parents from the responsibility of making restitution for the torts of their children. Thus, in the practical application of restitution, the choice of disposition has been guided by the parents' willingness to assume responsibility for a child's acts or the child's own ability to repay the injured party.

We had always assumed that all probation officers applied this philosophy consistently. Recently we decided to test this assumption. A confidential survey questionnaire on the court's restitution policy was formulated and presented to the probation staff. It posed specific questions on the court's restitution policy and asked the staff to point out how they carried it out in specific situations. Below are a few of the questions and a brief summary of the replies:

1. Do you relate restitution planning to the financial ability of the child or the parents?

The majority of staff recognized that the child's ability to pay was the foremost consideration. Officers varied

in the emphasis on parental responsibility. Certain staff members believed parents had to be made to feel responsible. Other staff thought that the child's ability to pay was the only consideration. All agreed that parents willing to assume responsibility should be encouraged to do so, but with the stipulation that the child should repay to the parents either the full or a token amount.

2. Do you believe insurance companies should be repaid when they have covered damages incurred by the complainant?

This question aroused the most comment and disagreement among the staff. Many officers maintained that since insurance companies provide for all risks in their rates, they should not be repaid. Some believed that repayment to an insurance company was too far removed to have much meaning for a boy. Still others said that they have an obligation to see that insurance companies are repaid in the same way as if the money were going directly to the injured party, but that the amount should be determined by the boy's circumstances.

3. In certain cases, do you think a restitution amount can be diverted to the United Good Neighbors or another worthy charity? (This question was formulated by anticipating certain types of answers to Question 2. In our experience, insurance companies do not always desire repayment when they have covered damages; sometimes it is impossible to find the owner of stolen goods; etc.)

Some staff members believed repayment to the United Fund Drive or another charity of the family's choice could be beneficial to the boy; others

tended to consider the matter of restitution closed if direct repayment could not be made for any reason. A number questioned how beneficial indirect payment of this sort was to the boy. All agreed that whenever this had been done with a boy or his parents, it had been a suggested alternative and not a condition of probation.

4. What do you recommend for a boy from a family which has a very small income or is receiving public assistance?

The majority of staff agreed that, in such cases, restitution payment should be related to the boy's ability to pay without tapping family resources whatsoever. If the boy had no income, or if it was not possible for him to meet this obligation in any way, the complainant was informed that restitution would not be forthcoming.

5. What is encompassed by "the child's ability to pay"?

The term was not uniformly defined but, in general, probation officers agreed that payment should be related to the boy's own efforts. The problem presented here concerned the boy who is a full-time student and not working. Should his allowance be considered as a resource? A number of the probation staff thought this another way of having parents pay. The majority believed this was a legitimate source of income for teenagers in our culture and should be considered as such in payment of restitution.

6. In serious cases, how do you determine a realistic restitution amount?

Probation staff agreed unanimously on answers to this question. In cases

involving hundreds or even thousands of dollars of damage, the complainant was informed of the "child's ability to pay." If the complainant refused to consider a proportionately smaller amount of restitution, he was always informed of his right to retain counsel and bring civil suit.

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7. Do you believe direct work for the complainant or injured party (as in vandalism cases) is a sound part of probation planning in lieu of direct restitution?

The staff held unanimously that planning of this sort depended on a number of factors: attitude of the child and the complainant, type of work to be done, etc. The consensus was that few cases lend themselves to this type of restitution. All agreed that it could be a sound part of probation planning, depending upon the individual circumstances of the case.

The questions overlap in many respects. They were not an attempt at a scientific analysis by any means but were devised simply to draw out staff attitudes and practices on this subject.

A Logical Approach

As a result of the survey and the indications of inconsistency in interpretation of the court's policy on restitution, we decided to formulate a series of policies on restitution based in part on points raised by the staff and by the statement of the NPPA (now NCCD) Advisory Council of Judges. After two drafts and review by the staff, the policy statement was approved by the judges and is now part of the court's operating procedure. It is not designed to cover every possible case arising in the future; it does, however, supply a fair and

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realistic basis for evaluating individual cases, and it gives the staff the sense of security that comes with knowing that they and the judges are thinking and acting in the same terms in behalf of both the child and the community.

The policy declaration was issued in memorandum form to each staff member, with the statement of the Advisory Council of Judges as a preamble or foreword. It reads as follows:

- 1. The statement of the National Probation and Parole Association on restitution (copy attached) as found in Guides for Juvenile Court Judges (pp. 81-82) will form the basis of the court's policies on restitution. It is to be noted in this statement that restitution can be used as a tool in the court's work with children, but imposing of restitution as a condition of probation should always be related to the child's ability to pay rather than the parent's ability. In presenting cases for hearing it is important that probation officers show that the question of restitution has been considered and that a recommendation for restitution or no restitution be made together with the probation officer's reasons for his recommendations.
- 2. The staff should recognize that the court can impose restitution as a part of a probation plan. While the court cannot force parents to make restitution, the court does encourage parents to see their moral responsibility in restitution matters involving their child.
- 3. In the future every effort will be made to assign group situations which are potential restitution cases to one probation officer.
- 4. The juvenile court does not serve as an agent for insurance companies, but is interested in whatever beneficial effects restitution might have for a child. If restitution is feasible and the insurance company will accept any part of the payment, this can be done where it will have meaning for the child.

- 5. Staff should not ask a child or parents to contribute to an organization, such as the United Good Neighbors. Any donation should be completely voluntary on the part of the child or the parents.
- 6. In situations involving extensive damages, the counselor and supervisor should study the matter together, not hesitating to confer with the judge when considering the question of restitution. In school vandalism cases, the court will limit its considerations to the delinquency aspects of the case and restitution based upon the child's ability to pay.
- 7. A probation officer's study of damages should not go beyond the child's ability to pay. The juvenile court will not make disposition in settlement of tort claims.
- 8. Staff is expected to consider restitution as an important aspect of a case where it is applicable. Summaries should always inform the judges that restitution has been considered and whatever recommendation is made should be explained. While it is hardly practicable with many children to suggest that they find employment in order to repay money, this possibility should not be overlooked in the overall planning with a child. The question of the child's allowance should not be ignored since in many cases this constitutes "income" and can be a legitimate source of income, depending upon the individual case.

While the policies focus primarily on the child's ability to pay, every effort is made to help parents see their responsibility in a restitution program. The following cases illustrate to some degree the practical application of the new policies.

John R. and Pat S. were referred to court after stealing and wrecking a car. Since this was the first referral for these two fourteen-year-old boys, they were considered for probation after a complete study. The parents agreed to cooperate in a restitution program suggested by the probation officer to repay the car owner

the amount not covered by his \$50 deductible insurance. In this case both boys were to work at tasks assigned by their parents and each was to repay the car owner \$25 over a six-month period.

Two of three parents agreed voluntarily to repay an insurance company a share of \$300 fire damage caused by their boys aged ten, eleven, and twelve. The third parent had only a marginal income and his relationship with his son, who had been known to the court previously, was particularly poor; the probation officer recommended against establishing a restitution program in this case and referred the family to a child guidance clinic. The judge followed the probation officer's recommendation.

School investigators submitted a \$125 bill for the damage done by two fifteenyear-old boys. Both boys had previous records. In each instance the parents had a marginal income and a rejecting attitude toward the boy. The probation officer considered the family relationships tenuous; he recommended a suspended commitment to the state school, with the additional stipulation of \$10 restitution apiece to be taken from the boys' personal allowance.

The success of a restitution policy like the one described above depends to a large extent on its consistent aplication by judge and staff. This is not easy since the policy is not a solution but only a "middle way." Community pressure and emotion will continue to confuse the court's focus on what seems best for the child at a given time. As long as that condition prevails, the approach based on the recommendations of the Advisory Council of Judges and the National Council of Juvenile Court Judges provides juvenile courts with the opportunity to exert leadership in a community that needs guiding principles rather than punitive laws.

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Conflict of Beliefs about Causes of Delinquency

WILLIAM DIENSTEIN

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JUVENILE delinquency literature suggests that a serious obstacle to dealing with delinquency is confusion and disagreement about its causes. Such lack of clarity is most damaging when it exists among the personnel of agencies working with delinquents, for the actions of these workers must surely stem from their basic beliefs. If these beliefs conflict, friction and lack of communication inevitably result and must impair effectiveness within and between the agencies.

To identify the beliefs of those in close contact with the delinquent and to uncover possible sources of the disparity of these beliefs, two tests were given to a sample group of 484: 252 elementary and secondary public school teachers, 131 juvenile police officers, and 101 juvenile probation officers, all from large metropolitan areas.¹

The Instrument

An instrument was developed containing two tests designed to measure (1) the respondents' beliefs about the causes of delinquency, and (2) their interpretations of etiological statements on the subject. Both tests

utilized a checklist of thirty-five statements (see below), each taken from the literature and each setting forth "the" cause of delinquency. On the first test, the respondents were directed to accept or reject each statement; on the second, they were to classify each of these statements into one of four etiological categories, a descriptive list of which was given them (see p. 290).

The reference in each statement to "the" cause was made to force the respondent to choose between two concepts of causation, single and multiple, and to facilitate handling the data. A respondent would have to reject all thirty-five statements if, concurring with the predominant viewpoint of professional literature, he considered delinquency multicausal.

THE STATEMENTS

- 1. The juvenile delinquent is a product of inferior racial groups.
- 2. The transition of our society from one based essentially upon intimate (primary) relationships to a world of less intimate (secondary) relationships is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 3. Delinquent behavior is the result of deliberate rejection of ethical and moral standards by the juvenile.
- 4. Delinquent behavior results from the juvenile's wish to punish his parents.

¹The writer designed the tests, which were then critically reviewed by Dean I. James Quillen, Acting Dean Edmund H. Volkart, Professor George D. Spingler, and Professor Oliver E. Byrd, M.D. All were at Stanford University in the fields of education, sociology, and anthropology.

- 5. Emotional tensions developed in the child are the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 6. Delinquency is inherited from inferior racial strains.
- 7. The body build of the juvenile determines whether or not he will engage in delinquent behavior.
- 8. The predisposition to delinquency is inherited.
- 9. Severe illness, especially inflammation of the brain, is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 10. Glandular imbalance is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 11. Slum areas are the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 12. The cause of delinquency lies in the popular entertainment business: television, radio, movies, comic books, commercial recreation.
- 13. Childhood emotional deprivation (lack of overt display of affection by parents) is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 14. The juvenile delinquent differs in personality traits from the nondelinquent and therefore his personality is the cause of his delinquency.
- 15. The breakdown of social controls in slum areas is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 16. Society's failure to satisfy the needs of young people (i.e., the need for belonging in the home and the community, need for participation in the home and in the community, etc.) is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 17. Delinquent behavior on the part of the juvenile is a rational enterprise.
- 18. Juvenile delinquency is caused by mental and physical handicaps usually inherited.

19. Social pressures which are contrary to acceptable ways of behavior are the cause of juvenile delinquency.

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- 20. City life is the cause of delinquent behavior.
- 21. Personal maladjustment is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- Delinquent behavior is caused by the desire and willingness of the juvenile to be perverse.
- 23. The delinquent is a symptom and product of his community.
- 24. Delinquent behavior is caused by an early, deep, and pervasive personal maladjustment.
- 25. Delinquent behavior is caused by neglect of children by their parents.
- 26. Biological abnormality is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 27. Juvenile delinquency is the visible manifestation of relief from internal distress caused by inner conflict.
- 28. Juvenile delinquency is the result of inheritance from parents who have a poor biological background.
- 29. Delinquent behavior is caused by the culture's focus on wealth and the limitation or denial of access to conventional and legitimate means for attaining such wealth.
- 30. Bad companionship is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 31. Physical defects are the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 32. Inner conflicts are the cause of delinquent behavior.
- 33. Exposure to unwholesome environmental experience is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 34. The fact that values in the culture of the United States are focused on material success is the cause of juvenile delinquency.
- 35. Lack of religious belief is the cause of juvenile delinquency.

Findings of the Study

The study revealed that similarity of education, level of educational attainment, sex, special study, college major, or years of experience does not increase agreement in beliefs about the causes of delinquency, nor does dissimilarity in these factors bring about disagreement. That such is the case is borne out by the following test results:

RESULTS OF TEST I

1. The teacher and the police groups were more alike in their beliefs than were the teacher and probation respondents or the police and probation respondents, despite the fact that the teacher and probation groups were almost identical in educational attainment, and the probation and police groups were most alike in the factors of special study and sex. These similarities receive further support and elucidation from the results of Test II.

2. The teacher group's distribution range of acceptance was 75 per cent, indicating that these respondents held a wide variety of beliefs about the causes of juvenile delinquency even though their education and training were very similar. Nor did the dissimilar backgrounds within the police and probation groups make them significantly less in agreement than the teacher group: the distribution range among the police was 72 per cent and among the probation workers, 78 per cent.

3. Only 4 per cent of the respondents achieved a "perfect score" by rejecting all the statements on the list. These 19 respondents represented 3 per cent of the teachers, 3 per cent

of the police, and 8 per cent of the probation workers. No common factor in their disparate backgrounds could be found to explain their success. On the other hand, the majority (50 per cent or more) of each of the three groups chose an almost identical number of combinations of monocausal statements about delinquency: the majority of teachers chose 15 statements; of police, 14; of probation workers, 14.

It might be well to pause here to examine the implications of the failure of this 96 per cent. Why did they overlook or ignore the logical and semantic contradiction in their accepting a group of exclusive factors as "the" cause of delinquency? It seems most unlikely that the wording of the statements could have trapped them into endorsing attitudes they really did not have. Follow-up interviews, conducted with a random sample from each group, revealed that although there was some objection to the exclusive wording of the statements, the respondents understood the instrument and its purpose. These interview results are further supported by the comments that numerous respondents wrote on the instrument to express their views about the checklist.

The point is that although respondents showed awareness of the exclusiveness of each statement, most could not bring themselves to reject all of them. When pushed during the interviews, they fell back on the comment that a particular factor could be "the" cause in a specific case. Even if the respondents did construe "the" cause as meaning "one of the causes," this very error reveals a semantic confusion and supports the contention

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that sloppy thinking about the causes of delinquency is a barrier to its effective control. In short, the respondents verbalized the belief that many factors contribute to delinquency, but could not bring themselves to reject monocausal statements. Here we have individuals talking about monocausal statements as though they represented factors in a constellation of causes, yet acting as though there were a single cause in a specific case. Clearly, faulty reasoning and "fact blindness" are operative here.

RESULTS OF TEST II

In the second section of the instrument, the respondents were asked to classify each of the thirty-five statements from the first section into one of four categories, which were enumerated and defined on mimeographed sheets. These reference sheets were given to all respondents and read as follows:

"Biological-Physical: This category includes all statements about the etiology of delinquency based on the idea that individual behavior is the result of physical differences or biological differences in the make-up of the individual. Physical differences such as deformities, disfigurements, grotesque and unusual features, results of diseases, results of injuries, and the like are illustrative of this category as are biological differences such as limited mental capacity, improper glandular functioning, inherited defects or abnormalities, improper muscular functioning, and the like.

"Social-Environmental: This category includes all statements about the etiology of delinquency based on the

idea that individual behavior is the result of the molding influences of the environment; that is, the circumstances, condition, situations, and attitudes in the home, gang, clique, neighborhood, school, church, and community determine how an individual will act; that his ways of behavior are learned from his social interactions.

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"Deliberate: This category includes all statements about the etiology of delinquency based on the idea that individual behavior is the result of choice on the part of the individual; that the individual deliberately and knowingly chooses to do what he does from among a wide variety of possible ways to behave. The concept accepts the premise that an individual freely chooses to do what is right and what is wrong and could just as easily have chosen the right as the wrong.

"Psychological: This category includes all statements about the etiology of delinquency based on the idea that individual behavior is the result of the mental-emotional condition of the individual: that the individual behaves as he does because of the way he 'sees' his surroundings (including people and ideas); that the way he sees his surroundings is controlled by his mind and feelings. Illustrative of the type of individuals who fall into this category are the emotionally unstable, the emotionally disturbed, the neurotics, the psychopaths, and the psychotics."

The respondents showed their misunderstanding of etiological statements by classifying a significant number of statements as "biological," or "social," or "deliberate," or "psycho-

logical" when they were not.2 Perhaps is the ces of this lack of comprehension partially explains the wide variety of intere cirpretations of the statements which is, and clique, occurred within as well as among the three groups, but it is also apparent , and an inthat each group had its own preferof beences for and aversions to the various cial incategories.

Typical is the probation group whose members incorrectly classified eight statements as biological, twentytwo as social, seventeen as deliberate, and twenty-seven as psychological whereas actually ten of the statements were biological; thirteen, social; four, deliberate; and eight, psychological. Adding to the intragroup confusion, which these errors must produce, is the wide range of opinions in each group. Once again, the probation workers serve as illustration. As few as 55 per cent and as many as 91 per cent of this group would classify certain biological statements as biological; with social statements, as few as 62 per cent and as many as 98 per cent; with deliberate statements, as few as 4 per cent and as many as 73 per cent; and with psychological statements, as few as 64 per cent and as many as 95 per cent.

Out of the error and variety emerges a significant pattern. Within the probation group, the closest agreement in interpretation occurred on the psychological statements wherein the range was smallest-31 per cent-and the greatest divergence occurred on the deliberate statements wherein the range was greatest-69 per cent. This agreement suggests that these probation respondents tend to be psychologically oriented, whereas test results indicated that the police and teacher respondents were socially oriented. Supporting these inferences is the observation that teachers and police perceive delinquent behavior primarily as a social disorder disruptive of the milieu, whereas probation officers perceive delinquent behavior primarily as symptomatic of personality disorder. Using a judgmental approach, teachers and police view deviant behavior as something to be externally controlled because it is present and so calls for immediate handling; their concern is the act. Using the clinical approach, probation officers view this same behavior as something that must be gradually changed through treatment: their concern is the actor. The two viewpoints, then, are at variance with respect to the method with which to handle the problem, the length of time it should take to do so, and the

responses of ten pre-tested educators holding the degree of Doctor of Philosophy or Doctor of Education. All were teaching education, psychology, or sociology at the college level, and all had reputations for their knowl-

² Criteria for the correct answers were the

Originally, seventy-six etiological statements were derived from the literature and submitted to the ten respondents. Only the thirty-five statements on the classification of which all these authorities agreed were used in the final checklist. The group of ten was used only in these aspects of the tests; they were not asked to accept or reject the statements.

edge of juvenile delinquency.

Conclusions of the Study

primary object of the action.

This study has revealed that a wide range of beliefs about the causes of delinquency exists within each of the three groups and constitutes a barrier in working out the delinquency puzzle. Such disagreement, however, stems not from the diverse educational and personal backgrounds of the person-

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ory inthe etion the is the l condithe inbecause undings that the is congs. Illusals who motionlly dishopaths,

eir misl statent numical," or "psychonel, but from a variety of other factors. In the light of the literature and the data of the study, the following may be suggested as answers:

1. The training of teacher, police, and probation personnel does not employ to fullest advantage available knowledge about juvenile delinquency in general and its etiology in particular: their training currently emphasizes treatment and control techniques. This educational approach assumes that the students possess common knowledge and beliefs concerning the nature and development of delinquency, whereas the study's results indicate that no such understanding exists. Very much needed, then, are training programs providing teachers, police, and probation officers with the "what" and "why" of delinquency, before proceeding to the "how" of its cure.

2. Faulty reasoning and "fact blindness" are important factors in the "thinking patterns" dealing with delinquency.³

3. Personnel develop concepts about juvenile delinquency as a result of specific experiences and tend to accumulate, consciously or unconsciously, evidence supporting these beliefs, while overlooking that which does not.

4. There are no standardized role perceptions among the personnel within the groups.

Within the groups exist different concepts of what is to be done about delinquency and how to do it.

6. An agency's definition of its pur-

poses and the personnel's interpretation of these purposes in terms of their own role perception form a basis for attitudes and behavior. Agency function provides a specific orientation which, of necessity, proceeds from certain concepts about the basis of human behavior and hence about the causes of delinquency. as

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For example, greater agreement existed within the probation group than within the other two groups in correctly classifying biological statements. Logically enough, the probation officer is sensitive to causal statements based on biological determinism and readily identifies them as such. His primary concern is modifying the unacceptable behavior pattern by bringing about personality changes in the delinquent and by manipulating environmental factors that contribute to delinquency. If the individual has been doomed by biological factors to act antisocially, his condition would not be amenable to psychotherapy. In short, acceptance of biological determinism would destroy the raison d'être of probation.

Teachers and police officers, on the other hand, have no reason for sensitivity to the biological statements since they are concerned with the act rather than the actor. This focus creates within both groups more agreement as to the interpretation of deliberate statements than within the probation group. The deliberate statements, so antithetical to the clinical point of view, are saturated with moral imperatives and represent a frame of reference supportive of the authoritarian control which the respondents in these two groups employ in their work.

The teacher recognizes management

^a Fritz Redl, "Research Needs in the Delinquency Field," *Children*, Jan.-Feb., 1957, p. 19.

as one of her important functions, because one cannot teach in bedlam, and as a result of the effort to maintain the appropriate teaching situation, management may take precedence over her primary functions. The juvenile police officer sees management and control as his primary function. His task is to prevent violation of laws and to apprehend those who commit violations.

Where management and control are essential to performance of "ideal" functions, violators who disrupt the milieu must be restrained and managed by authority. Authoritarian methods are usually used to solve immediate behavior problems, and the justification for their use lies in two areas, social and personal. In the former area, damage to society or injury to the individual cannot be tolerated. In the latter area, restraint or punishment are required because one cannot wait for other solutions. Herein lies a basis for disagreementeven hostility-among the different agencies, for each agency approaches the same problem with a different viewpoint, and the methods of each are often in opposition.

The ideological justification for authoritarian control lies in the con-

cept that the causes of delinquent behavior are either biological or deliberate, and that physical control and punishment are the only effective deterrents of deviant behavior. The ideological justification for treatment, on the other hand, lies in the concept that the causes of delinquent behavior are either social or psychological, and that, as has been noted, behavior may be changed through manipulation of social conditions or through modification of personality traits.

So, while each agency is dealing with delinquency and each may handle the same violator, their approaches to the same problem tend to take on polar aspects—control and punishment on the one hand, and treatment on the other—and they find no route to mutual understanding, communication, and cooperation. Working thus at cross purposes, they cannot hope to succeed.

Yet all three groups are aware of the necessity of both control and modification. The problem is to develop techniques of control and treatment that are compatible and to bring about greater awareness that control is no substitute for treatment, and external control no substitute for internal discipline.

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The Alcoholic Parolee

RICHARD J. TATHAM

Supervisor, State Alcoholism Program, Washington State Department of Health*

AS A district probation and parole officer I experienced many frustrations because of my lack of information about alcoholism, alcoholics, and the community resources available for dealing with these problems

For instance, there was my lack of understanding of the Alcoholics Anonymous program and, as a result, my suspicion of the newly released inmate who had been an active member while in prison. I had heard that inmates would go to any lengths to join A.A. so that they could "goof off" from the otherwise monotonous prison routine, or so that they could favorably impress the parole board and consequently get their sentence shortened. I assumed as a matter of course that the new parolee was not sincere in his efforts to stop drinking and would soon drop his A.A. affiliation now that he was released, or would continue it only to cover up his secret drinking. Little did I realize that though I never expressed my negative attitude in words, the alcoholic parolee could sense it, and that this might hinder his recovery and possibly impair his success on parole.

Alcoholics, like other emotionally disturbed people, are hypersensitive to interpersonal feelings. The parole officer's attitude is therefore crucial for good rapport with the alcoholic under his supervision. The same thing applies to the physician and his patient or the therapist and his client.

Can you imagine what the prognosis of a seriously ill person would be if his doctor was convinced that the patient was faking or untreatable? co

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Caught up in his own rationalizing. and sadly lacking in self-assurance and self-esteem (outward appearance of exaggerated importance notwithstanding), the alcoholic frequently manipulates situations. For instance, he can seize upon his nonalcoholic parole officer's condemnation or lack of interest as an excuse to drink. Feeling discouraged and rejected, he gets drunk, breaks parole, or commits a new crime. Then, since he is unable to cope with the redoubled wretchedness he feels because of his failure to remain sober, he will try to justify his failure to himself by saying that it was his parole officer's fault.

One of the basic tenets of those who treat alcoholics is that a slip is not necessarily concomitant with failure, insincerity, weak will, or uncooperativeness. A slip can be a slip, and nothing more. For the alcoholic seldom drinks to get drunk, as the "problem drinker" does. An alcoholic drinks for the exhilarating sensation which a few drinks give him-but he no longer has enough self-control to stop himself at that point. Treatment of an alcoholic who has slipped should begin where it left off, as should the treatment of a relapsed t.b. patient. Scorn, brutality, or cynicism won't arrest alcoholism any more than it will arrest a phobia or mania. But if we accept a slip as a relapse, not as a moral failure, and if we try to dis-

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cover why it occurred we may contribute to the alcoholic's treatment and to a brighter prognosis for his recovery.

Did I say treatment? Can it be that alcoholism is a disease? It is just such questions as these that I failed to ask when I was a parole officer.

The American Medical Association and the American Hospital Association have stated in no uncertain terms that alcoholism is a disease and can be treated by a physician in a normal hospital or office. Please don't jump to the conclusion that your alcoholic cases can be sent to the neighborhood physician and be "cured" in a few weeks. In the first place, treatment often takes a very long time. In the second place, alcoholics, like patients suffering from other diseases, must sincerely want to be helped and must be physically and mentally able to participate in, and benefit from, the treatment available. Finally, since doctors nowadays often specialize in their practice, many of them do not have the necessary training to treat alcoholics, the time to see them, or the temperament to be of any help. Indeed some doctors just do not agree with the AMA view that alcoholism is a treatable disease.

Dr. Marvin A. Block, chairman of the AMA Committee on Alcoholism, has stated that the physician can treat alcoholism successfully without the help of any other professional or non-professional person; so can the clergyman, the social worker, the psychiatrist, or Alcoholics Anonymous. He also believes that each of these disciplines can augment the work of the others in a team approach. Perhaps

the technique or method of treatment is less important than an understanding of the problem and a conviction that the alcoholic can be helped and is worth helping.

One Day at a Time

One may not approve of excessive drinking or may even object to moderate drinking. We are all entitled to our own opinions about this controversial custom. "But," says Selden D. Bacon, director of the Yale Center of Alcohol Studies, "alcoholics do not drink."2 They exhibit none of the traits by which we usually recognize the social phenomenon of "drinking." Alcoholics do not drink to gain peer approval, to be with friends, or to "liven up the crowd," though these motives are common enough in prealcoholic behavior. The alcoholic consumes alcohol for the sake of consuming alcohol, and all social implications be damned. The mouth and throat are used merely as a means of ingesting the stuff-a needle admitting it directly to the blood stream probably would be just as acceptable to him. And so we should not apply moral judgments about drinking or drinkers to the alcoholic, who must drink or face horrors the rest of us cannot imagine. Would you recommend a sermon about the evils of stealing as an effective treatment for kleptomania? Of course not!

An alcoholic is hardly likely to stop drinking unless he makes other changes in his thinking and living as well. This is why A.A. is so effective. It is a dynamic program in which anyone having "an honest desire to stop drinking" is fully accepted, what-

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¹At the Governor's Conference on Alcoholism, Tacoma, Wash., October 21 and 22, 1958.

² "Alcoholics Do Not Drink," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, January, 1958, pp. 55-64.

ever his past life or other problems. It is a group that will show the alcoholic a new way of thinking and a new way of life. Group or individual psychotherapy, medical or religious counseling, or even proper parole counseling can do this too. First you must gain the confidence of the alcoholic and encourage his desire to be helped. You can often do this by showing him that he can count on you to help him whenever he needs help. For at first the alcoholic cannot adjust himself to delaying his actions and reactions; he needs immediate help no matter how unreasonable his demands may seem. This may be very annoying to the parole officer who does not understand the dynamics of alcoholism. You should also recognize the fact that alcoholics are more receptive to help during the self-depreciation phase that follows the hangover. You don't have to reprove him. He already feels so miserable, unworthy, helpless, and immoral that encouragement, understanding, and patience are much more effective than

At this time he may want to talk straightforwardly about his drinking problem-a problem he may have denied before. At this time he may be willing to seek clinical help, or he may want to see members of A.A. And at this time he may begin to realize that he is different from other drinkers-that he must not, indeed cannot, ever drink again. This knowledge will be an unbearable burden to him unless he receives careful reorientation and supportive therapy. A.A. encourages the alcoholic not to look forward to a life completely void of alcohol, but to deal with one day at a time. Each day, over 200,000 members of A.A. in America are thinking of just staying sober for the next twenty-four hours.

The dynamics of alcoholism are as intriguing as they are complex. The alcoholic who is well motivated and is responding to treatment can make amazing changes in his outlook and pattern of life. He slowly regains his self-confidence and begins to feel that he is worth something again. Indeed, he often becomes overconfident-and slips again. What a difference it makes if the parole officer knows that the relapse does not necessarily mean that treatment has failed; that the frequent uncooperativeness is often used to test the officer's real feelings; that the lying may be a symptom of a neurosis.

Recovery is a long, long process. There is no "cure." (Recovery is not synonymous with cure.) The alcoholic will never be able to drink again and will need continuous support. Since a parolee's relationship with his parole officer may last only a year or two, the parole officer should encourage him to join A.A. or a similar organization. Therefore the officer should know A.A. as well as he knows his own church or fraternal group. He must reconcile the permissive approach of A.A. with the laws and rules dealing with parole supervision.

Self-education

How well I remember the first A.A. open meeting I attended. I had heard that A.A. was basically a religious organization and I didn't know whether to expect a lively evangelistic program or a simple moral sermon. I found neither. The approach was not so much theological as spiritual, or, rather, emotional. I thought of the alcoholics I had known, and I remembered how they would intel-

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lectualize about their drinking and still be unable to do anything about it. Here, at the A.A. meeting, I saw alcoholics who were emotionally motivated and were able not only to abstain, but to enjoy happy and productive lives for the first time in years. Next to their constant cigarette smoking and coffee drinking (which substitute for the bottle in meeting certain oral needs, I am told), their most outstanding characteristic was a joy of living.

After the "Twelve Steps" were read and explained, four speakers described how alcohol had affected their lives and what they had done about it. The meeting ended with the Lord's Prayer and refreshments. I was told that open meetings were for new members and visitors, but that the actual group therapy took place at the closed meetings. Since then I have had the honor of attending closed

meetings, too. I have described A.A. in some detail because it is a 24-hours-a-day community resource available in practically every city and in many towns in this country. They ask no questions. When their services are needed they answer the call day or night. For giving service to others is one of the ways by which members help themselves continue their sobriety. A.A. is available to any alcoholic who wants help; the telephone number can be found in the phone book or in the personal column of the local newspaper. The parole officer can use A.A. in other ways, too. He can call upon selected members as consultants in alcoholism problems. Such members can also be used in the in-service training of both new and established parole officers, supervisors, and other staff.

Like any other approach to this problem, A.A. is not 100 per cent effective. As with many other illnesses of which our knowledge is limited, we have no remedy with which we can treat all cases with success. Indeed, there will probably always be some whom we cannot help. But where A.A. fails, the parole officer may succeed, and vice versa. The challenge is at least interesting.

Parole officers, like other social workers, and teachers, doctors, policemen, and clergymen, generally show a great interest in the alcoholic and alcoholism. But in spite of this, they are often reluctant to work as full members of the treatment team. Like the doctor who does not feel qualified in this area, the parole officer too prefers to refer the alcoholic to a specialist. But there are not enough of these specialists to meet the demands placed upon them. And some alcoholics frankly do not need the services of technically qualified "specialists."

In any case, the parole officer still has the responsibility of educating all with whom he comes into contact in an attempt to prevent alcoholism.

Alcoholism is the nation's third most prevalent health problem; only heart disease and mental illness rank above it in number of persons directly affected. One out of sixteen persons suffers from the disease in some degree; one out of five is in some direct or indirect way affected by its problems. Can any part of society ignore or avoid the facts?

All parole officers should be intimately acquainted with, and accustomed to use, the programs and facilities of the local and state agencies or organizations which deal with the problems of alcoholism. Then, like the alcoholic, we should "make a searching and fearless moral inventory of ourselves" to understand our own feelings about alcohol and to reconcile them with the idea that alcoholism is a disease. We can all say that we believe alcoholism is a disease, but what do we actually think when we come face to face with an alcoholic at his worst?

Finally, we should improve our understanding of alcoholism through self-education. Much of the literature now available did not exist when many of us were in college or training. We must now make up for this deficiency. Alcoholics Anonymous, Marty Mann's New Primer on Alcoholism, and the January, 1958 issue of The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science are good foundations on which to build.

[Note: E. M. Jellinek, of the Alcoholism Foundation of Alberta, has recently pointed out that there are several types of alcoholism. This article refers only to the type most commonly encountered in the United States.]

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NCCD Field Services

MILTON G. RECTOR

Director, National Council on Crime and Delinquency

(National Council on Crime and Delinquency, formerly National Probation and Parole Association) account for the major portion of our expenditures and staff time, few readers of this magazine are acquainted with the nature and scope of these activities. To remedy the situation, we shall report to you, in the July issue each year, on the various phases of this important operation. This article is the first of the series.

The Field Staff

A recent editorial in the St. Louis Globe-Dispatch had this to say about "St. Louis and Juvenile Crime."

St. Louis can congratulate itself on keeping down the number of city youngsters who get into trouble. Nation-wide, juvenile delinquency has risen sharply. But in the city, the number of juvenile cases has shown almost no increase at all in the past three years.

The city's good record in the last three years is not the result of luck or happenstance. Three things are very important in the city's success curbing juvenile crime. For one thing, the city has invested more money in its juvenile court since a National Probation and Parole Association report, issued in 1957, criticized neglect of this important institution. Secondly, the circuit court has assigned an excellent juvenile judge, David B. McMullan, to the court on a full-time basis. Thirdly, the St. Louis Police Department has an outstanding juvenile division under Capt. Adolph Jacobsmeyer. The NPPA report recommended that his staff be increased.

It takes time to convince a community of the need for an organization to properly handle youngsters who are getting off on the wrong foot. St. Louis has not done everything it should, but it has made great strides in the past few years.

While it is not rare for our work to be publicly credited, laudatory editorials are not so numerous that we are indifferent to them. We do enjoy learning that others know that, where our services have been utilized, the public is better protected and many thousands of children and adults in trouble are every year treated more effectively.

During 1959, our staff made 263 consultation visits into 134 communities in 36 states and conducted 15 full surveys and twelve short-term studies. (Before inflated costs reduced our staff a few years ago, we were making field visits to as many as 400 communities a year.) Supplementing these visits is consultation work, carried on by correspondence with citizens and officials throughout the United States and in about thirty other countries.

Our regional offices—in Austin, Chicago, San Francisco, and New York—give service to every state in the Union. In each of these offices, a regional director and a consultant are responsible for general field services in the region. We also provide the services of specialists in parole, detention, and law, as well as library information from the central office in New York. While field services consist generally

of consultations and surveys, we perform a variety of other services, significant examples of which are reported below.

The Michigan Study

NPPA completed a new type of study early last year. At the request of the Department of Administration and the Department of Corrections, the NCCD Michigan Crime and Delinquency Council made a cost analysis and projection of program trends in the state. The study extended not only to the Department of Corrections' program, but also to sentencing in the criminal courts.

It was found that if the laws and policies governing the department and sentencing remain unchanged, in 1970, as compared to 1959, Michigan's crime problem will be greater in size and cost: Institution populations will increase by 3,000; probation caseloads will be up 3,000; 1,200 more people will be on parole; annual operating costs of institutions will be 4½ million dollars higher; forty million dollars will be spent to build new institutions; annual welfare costs for supporting families of inmates will be four million dollars higher.

The increase in expenditures can be avoided. Starting in 1970, up to eleven million dollars a year can be saved in institutional operating and construction costs and in the cost of supporting inmates' dependents on welfare rolls. Such savings can be made if the courts reduce the percentage of institutional commitments and if the law is amended to permit earlier release on parole. Specifically, the proposed program recommends (1) probation in 70 per cent of felony convictions; (2) fewer commitments, but a greatly enriched program for

inmates, and (3) early parole under intensive supervision.

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OTHER SURVEYS

Using the raw data collected in the Michigan study, the NCCD Indiana Citizens Council and the NCCD Ohio Committee on Delinquency and Crime made similar cost analyses and projections. The findings and recommendations were similar to those of the Michigan study—only the dollar amounts differed.

We conducted a survey of the juvenile court, probation department, detention home, and police juvenile services in Lake County (East Chicago, Gary, Hammond, etc.), Indiana. This project, completed early in the year, has already brought about changes which will mean a stronger program. The movement includes, for example, administrative reorganization and redefinition of job descriptions for supervisory and administrative personnel. Additional staff has been authorized and recruited, and a permanent citizens' advisory committee is being formed to work with the court to obtain new court, probation department, and detention quarters.

A similar study is in progress in Youngstown, Ohio. In Columbus, Ohio, we are making a comprehensive study of probation and sentencing practices in the common pleas and municipal courts.

A survey report for Madison County (Huntsville), Ala., called for organization of a family court to serve as a framework for developing adequate services for children and families. Such provisions are vitally needed in this fast-growing community, home of the Redstone Arsenal where the intercontinental ballistics missile is produced. At the circuit

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on Counl for orto serve bing adeand fame vitally commue Arsenal ballistics ie circuit level, the family court would replace the part-time juvenile court served ex officio by the county judge, and a staff of seven probation officers would replace the part-time services of the county welfare department's greatly overworked personnel.

In Montgomery County, Ala., the major survey recommendation was quickly acted upon. When the report was issued, the state legislature was in session and passed a bill to create a family court served by a part-time judge. This court will replace the juvenile court served by a part-time judge and will be the first patterned

after NCCD's new Family Court Act.

The Louisiana family court survey, under way for over a year, has come up with more basic information than any other of our statewide surveys. Over one hundred workers, including state welfare department and state Youth Commission personnel, were involved in collecting the data. The work of analyzing and report-writing is going on now, and the report will be completed this summer.

In Dallas, NCCD is evaluating the juvenile courts and probation and detention services, as a part of a community-wide study sponsored by a top-level citizens' committee and the Council of Social Agencies. The U.S. Children's Bureau is studying the local juvenile law-enforcement services and training schools, and eventually the Child Welfare League of America will examine all their child care and welfare agencies.

Our survey in Duval County (Jacksonville), Fla., was launched when we requested information on their juvenile detention needs. Our focus has since enlarged to take in the broad areas of prevention, which includes the community's services for early

diagnosis and treatment of delinquency and neglect.

Because of the continued demand for surveys, we are constantly conducting preliminary studies to determine the advisability, scope, and cost of the requested survey, and to discover how best to organize the community for the project. In our southern region alone, St. Petersburg, West Palm Beach, Pensacola, Gulfport, and San Angelo are scheduled for future surveys.

A survey of all juvenile and adult correctional services in Arizona was undertaken jointly by NCCD, the Osborne Association, and the U.S. Children's Bureau. Considerable follow-up consultation aided implementation of the survey recommendations. Immediate action to obtain either increased juvenile probation staff or improved detention services, or both, resulted from surveys made in Pueblo and Colorado Springs (Colo.), and Allentown and Reading (Pa.). The latter was conducted by the League of Women Voters with our consultation.

While surveys have the advantage of sponsorship by a citizens' advisory group and the publication and distribution of reports, NCCD's contribution to the field can be made in numerous other ways, such as institutes, conferences, and cooperative services to related organizations. Last year, the staff was actively involved in our own National Institute on Crime and Delinquency. We helped develop and participated in regional and state probation, parole, and correctional association conferences. We organized sessions at the National Conference of Social Work and participated in conferences and institutes of the National Social Welfare Assembly, the Child Welfare League of America, the International Juvenile Officers Association, the American Public Welfare Association, the American Correctional Association, and the Federal Bar Association. Field staff attended the White House Conference, and the Committee on Followup of the White House Conference on Children and Youth consulted with us. We went to the consultation conferences of the U.S. Children's Bureau, when they were planning a report to Congress on federal aid needed to combat delinquency, and of a survey committee, called in by the National Conference on Social Welfare to study the structure of the latter organization.

We lectured before seminars and classes at several colleges and universities. In several states, we conducted training institutes for adult probation and detention personnel, juvenile court judges, juvenile probation and law-enforcement officers, and child and public welfare staff. The publication of our bimonthly job announcement bulletin contributed to personnel recruiting and placement, and we operated an informal personnel referral service in each regional office. We helped prepare merit examinations, served on civil service examining boards, and conducted evaluation interviews of candidates for positions in distant

Judges are increasingly interested in learning more about their roles in the juvenile court and about proper use of probation and related treatment services for children and families coming before the courts. These were the main subjects of discussion at institutes for juvenile court judges in Ohio and North Carolina, NCCD

has been asked to utilize the knowledge gained from these experiences to help develop similar institutes in Texas, Indiana, and Colorado.

Variety may be the spice of life for some, but for the NCCD field consultation staff, it's the way of life. During 1959, we were frequently asked to make field visits and to consult on everything from budget planning for a state adult probation and parole agency in New England to the architectural design of detention homes in Washoe County (Reno), Nev., and Marin County, Calif. In the thirtysix states served, our consultation assisted in problems of juvenile court administration, employment of adult offenders, adult probation and parole personnel, converting prison road camps to permanent correctional institutions, classifying juvenile offenders, strengthening services for neglected children outside the court, detention programs and staffing, architectural design of juvenile court and administrative staff quarters, and referral policies between the court and police. At their request, we presented testimony to state legislatures and study commissions.

Special Detention Services in 1959

NCCD's services in juvenile detention continue to raise the level of detention and shelter care. In our work in this area, we have stressed the control of admission, because where new detention homes are built, the use of detention is all too often increased and tends to serve as a substitute for prehearing casework.

Our staff specialist has provided local and statewide consultation for state detention consultants in New York, Michigan, and Pennsylvania to help develop state detention standards; deter semin sions state facili video desig Coun tion prob

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ards; to assist in problems of regional detention; and to promote the dissemination of information on admissions control. In Maryland, where state responsibility for detention-study facilities already exists, we have provided field consultation in building design, intake, staffing, and program. County and municipal field consultation this year has dealt primarily with problems of intake, building design, and staffing.

We have carried on consultation service through correspondence on a day-to-day basis, responding to memoranda from our field offices and to letters from all parts of the United States requesting information, explanation of standards, data about the experience of other communities in solving detention and shelter problems, and working out building and operating costs. Our replies often spell the difference between jail-like and well-designed detention quarters; between insufficient custodial staff and adequate personnel with professional guidance; between enforced idleness and a constructive program. When requests require field visits, referral is usually made to our regional offices.

Analyses of detention home and juvenile court building plans form a major part of our detention service, because the design of the building often determines the type of staff and program to be employed. Almost all jurisdictions planning detention buildings have requested our detailed analysis of their preliminary plans. We made numerous field trips to advise on Maryland's new state diagnostic-detention center, the Arlington (Va.) regional detention home, the St. Louis juvenile court, and Milwaukee's new juvenile court and detention home.

Development of a national inventory of detention homes continued this year with broadened coverage. As a result, we were able to assist the Institute of Local and State Governments of the University of Pennsylvania by supplying statistical data for their survey, "Comparison of Expenditures and Estimated Standard Costs for Selected Juvenile Delinquency Services." This study highlighted the wide variation in the use of detention and per diem cost. It also showed how ten typical large city detention homes could raise their generally low level of care through a higher per diem cost, while saving 2.7 million dollars by applying effective admission controls. The savings could be used for increased and improved probation and institutional services.

In addition to participating in these varied surveys, the NCCD director of detention services completed a regional detention study in New Jersey and critically reviewed detention surveys made by our staff in other parts of the country.

Legal Consultation

You are familiar with the legal service we rendered through the preparation and publication of standard acts and "Developments in Correctional Law," the annual article about legislation and appellate court decisions. In 1959, we gave legal consultation to individuals and committees in fourteen jurisdictions-Alaska, zona, California, Delaware, District of Columbia, Iowa, Louisiana, Michigan, Montana, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Texas, and West Virginia. Consultation indicated the range of NCCD services-juvenile court practice (Iowa, Michigan, New Jersey, California); family court problems (Texas); sentencing laws (New York, Montana); correctional laws (Pennsylvania); probation and parole (Alaska).

Requests for consultation came from government-administrative departments and courts-and citizen groups, which sometimes received staff field consultation. Unfortunately, correction has no close contact with bar associations, nor has NCCD; we therefore welcomed a request that we meet with a committee of the New York State Bar Association, which then used our services in a study concerning revision of the habitual offender (Baumes) laws. Court consultation included response to requests for information on practice and opinion from members of two state supreme courts. We also filed briefs amicus curiae in two other jurisdictions, the District of Columbia and Delaware (the latter in cooperation with the Delaware Prisoners Aid Association).

In most instances, we provided consultation through correspondence: we made comments and recommendations for California on two successive drafts of the Juvenile Justice Commission, and we commented on probation and parole legislation for Alaska. We sometimes gave consultation in the field, particularly in Louisiana, where counsel and the Southern director worked on parole and sentencing legislation with the director and staff consultants of the Gov-

ernor's Commission; and in Pennsylvania, where counsel served as consultant at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Citizens' Association at which an advisory committee and state officials reviewed existing legislation and problems of their revision.

The Coming Year

This report has by no means included all the services of our field staff rendered during 1959, but it does represent the many kinds of service requests to which we responded. The development of state Citizen Action Program committees has brought a heavy increase in these requests, and many of them have been answered by consultants assigned to the committees in those states and many by regional staff. Previously, these services have not been considered part of the regular operating program because they were financed largely by foundation funds. Now, however, newly organized citizen committees must be placed on a self-sustaining basis, and so the consultation work of our state committee staff will be part of our regular field services. With the addition of new state committees with full-time staff, and with a steadily mounting volume of requests, we anticipate that our report in the July, 1961 issue of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY will reflect a gratifying increase in both the variety and volume of field To TA. M tion cess" 1959.

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Letters to the Editor

Commitment Procedure

May 3, 1960

TO THE EDITOR:

I have read with interest Richard A. McGee's article, "The Administration of Justice: the Correctional Process" in the NPPA JOURNAL of July, 1959.

I agree with his statement, on page 287, that "One part of the fault is the law which permits the courts to sentence directly to a reformatory." This was also the law in Israel until 1955. In April of that year the Youth Protection Rules (institutions) 5715-1955 were enacted, stating:

Rule 1: A child in care [is] a child who is held in an institution by an order of the court.

Rule 2: The Minister of Social Welfare will appoint a commissioner of institutions.

Rule 5: The commissioner shall name the institution for the child in care and shall notify the court.

This change in policy had the obvious effect on admissions to reformatories. Until 1955, adjudicated children were, with few exceptions, placed in reformatories. In 1960, the commissioner placed 50 children in foster homes, 150 in approved schools, and 550 in reformatories.

Thus a central administration places children in the various reformatories, working upon the advice of probation officers and child guidance clinics; it transfers children from one institution to another, or from an institution to a foster home or vice versa, on the recommendation of

principals and supervisors: no court intervention is needed.

JOSEPH BEN-OR
Deputy Director, Youth Protection
Authority, Ministry of Social Welfare, Jerusalem, Israel

Chaplains' Camp Project

May 27, 1960

TO THE EDITOR:

The Protestant Chaplains of the Juvenile Court of Wayne County, Michigan, and the Boys' Probation Department, with the cooperation of the Detroit YMCA and the Christian Youth Committee of the Detroit Commandery No. 1, Knights Templar, have been studying a pilot project for reintegrating problem children with society.

The idea behind the plan was that among the young offender's many needs is to see that society does not hold a grudge against him permanently for his offense.

Last summer, twenty-five boys were sent to a camp for two weeks, where they could have healthful activity, good diet, and regular hours, in addition to group activity therapy. The chaplains selected the boys upon the recommendation of the boys' probation officers.

Probably the most striking feature of the experiment was that the boys responded very well to understanding and impartial discipline. They learned that no matter what their background, every boy had to adhere to the same rules, and that they might expect punishment appropriate to the character of the infraction, not according to that of the offender.

From movies that were taken of the boys at their activities and at recreation, it was impossible for anyone who did not know them to determine which were the chaplains' boys. They all looked like healthy youngsters at play. Understanding between the boys and society was further cemented by a visit to the camp of several of the members of the Commandery and their wives. They found that showing their interest in the boys often had a good effect on them.

The experiment was more than satisfactory. Only one boy had any real difficulty, being unable to adjust to his surroundings. We recommended that he return to the detention home for study, where clinic evaluation showed that he was a pre-psychotic who might otherwise have escaped notice. But up till now we have heard from none of the rest of the boys by way of police reports indicating that they are still getting into difficulty; we assume that they are making satis-

factory adjustments. The probation officers whose boys were involved in this experiment were more than encouraged by the results.

The success of this experiment has encouraged us to take further action to provide such healthful group therapy. Again through the help of the YMCA and the sponsorship of the Commandery, we have undertaken a project to provide YMCA facilities for selected boys on probation during the winter months. We shall try to provide "Y" facilities for the boys in their own districts, and to get them involved in more wholesome associations by separating friends who have formerly gotten into trouble together and encouraging them to form new friendships.

We hope to expand both the summer camp and the winter YMCA projects; we believe that the experiment has shown two additional aids in rehabilitating the young offender.

REV. JOSEPH J. KOPERA
Office of the Protestant Chaplains,
Wayne County Juvenile Court,
Detroit

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News & Notes

Stanley P. Mead, judge of the Connecticut statewide juvenile (First District: Fairfield and Litchfield counties) retired from the bench on April 10, 1960, his seventieth

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After graduating from Yale Law School in 1913, he engaged in general practice of law and served in the state legislature for ten years before his appointment to the juvenile court in 1943. While in the legislature he was one of those responsible for securing passage of the bill setting up a statewide juvenile court system, which went into operation on January 1, 1942. He is president of the Connecticut Child Welfare Association and has served on the New Canaan Board of Education for over thirty-five years.

Mrs. Margaret Connors Driscoll, of Bridgeport, succeeded Judge Stanley P. Mead as judge of the First District Juvenile Court of Connecticut on

April 10.

The first woman ever to hold a high court post in Connecticut, Mrs. Driscoll has had a varied and distinguished career. She was graduated from Yale Law School and admitted to the Connecticut bar in 1938. Three years later she was appointed deputy secretary of state; during her tenure in that position she helped establish child care centers throughout the state. She was the first woman ever to serve as prosecutor in the Bridgeport police court. For fourteen years she has been legislative agent and counsel for the Connecticut State Labor Council. She has served as board director or member of the League of Women Voters of Bridgeport, the Bridgeport Mental Hygiene Society, the Mayor's Commission on Human Rights, the Bridgeport Child Guidance Clinic, the Community Chest and Council, and the Bridgeport Citizens Committee for Better Schools. ("And in her spare time," says the article about her in the Hartford Courant, March 27, "she managed to win the Bridgeport municipal championship tennis singles 1944.")

Mrs. Henrietta Lichtenberg Gordon, director of publications for the Child Welfare League of America, died of a heart attack on April 26.

She was sixty-two years old.

Mrs. Gordon began her career in social service as a family caseworker. Later she worked in child placement at the Jewish Child Care Association, in time becoming supervisor there. For the last two decades, she served the Child Welfare League of America as editor of Child Welfare as well as its director of publications. She wrote extensively for professional journals, conducted many institutes for those working with troubled children, and taught university courses in social casework and in marriage and the family.

Dr. Jessie Taft died on June 7, at the age of seventy-eight.

She was Professor Emeritus of Social Case Work at the University of Pennsylvania until she retired in 1952. She was formerly director of the child study department of the Children's Aid Society of Pennsylvania and was the author of many articles and books. An authority on the work of Dr. Otto Rank, at one time an associate of Sigmund Freud, she published a biography of Dr. Rank in 1958; the year before, she presented thousands of documents concerning him to Columbia University.

Glenn I. Wallace, Santa Barbara County probation officer and president of the California Probation, Parole and Correctional Association, died of a cerebral hemorrhage on May 3 at Kansas City, where he was attending the National Institute on Crime and Delinquency. He was fifty-seven years old.

He started his career as a junior high school teacher, then became a counselor at Santa Barbara High School. In 1944 he served with the delinquency prevention division of the California Youth Authority; a few months later he was appointed assistant county probation officer. He became county probation officer in 1949. At various times he was president of a number of community, social work, and mental hygiene associations.

The new president of the Prison Association of New York is Melber Chambers, a New York City attorney. He succeeds the late Edward P. Mulrooney, a former New York City police commissioner, who died on April 29. Mr. Chambers has been a member of the association's executive committee since 1954.

William O. French of Columbus, Ohio, has been appointed assistant secretary of the Prison Association of New York and the American Cor-

rectional Association. Mr. French had been public information officer of the Ohio Department of Mental Hygiene and Correction and editor of its magazine, Motive, since 1954. For ten years before that he was a member of the editorial staff of the Columbus Citizen; manager of the Commonwealth News Service, Harrisburg, Pa.; and a member of the editorial staff of the Harrisburg Evening News.

The following is the text of a "Citation of Merit" which the American Correctional Chaplains Association has awarded to Mrs. Sylvia Rachlin, Executive Vice-President of Special Social Services and Social Welfare Consultant to the Community Services Committee of the New York City Central Labor Council:

"For seventeen years of dedicated service to the children, wives, and mothers of offenders; for sincere and constructive aid to more than ten thousands of these unfortunates; for her steadfast adherence to ethical principles and ideals; for perseverance under difficult conditions; and for creative leadership in untried fields."

Brett Ginnings has replaced Mrs. Jane Aptekar as editorial assistant in the NCCD New York office. Miss Ginnings, a graduate of Bennington College, has previously done magazine work in New York City.

A World-wide Problem

A United Nations report on "New Forms of Juvenile Delinquency: Their Origin, Prevention and Treatment" gives some of the names by which delinquents are known in different parts of the world. In England, We "H Fra ets) "ho calv land ies" in "ske (wh

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linquency: and Treatnames by wn in difn England, they are called "Teddy boys"; in Western Germany, they are the "Halbstarke" (the half-matured); in France, "blousons noirs" (black jackets); in Poland and the Soviet Union, "hooligans"; in Italy, "vitelloni" (fat calves); in Australia and New Zealand, "bodgies" (boys); and "widgies" (girls); in Japan, "mambo boys"; in South Africa, "tsotsis" (African), "skollies" (colored) and "ducktails" (white).

The report says that internationally the most important new type of juvenile delinquency is the formation of gangs and that other forms of "new" delinquency, such as auto theft, traffic violations, vandalism, sex delinquency, alcoholism, and drug addiction, are also on the increase.

The report, written by Judge Wolf Middendorff, of the Federal Republic of Germany, will be among other papers to be placed before the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, meeting in London August 8 to August 20. Among the particular phenomena it discusses are the mass rioting that has occurred in many countries, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany; vandalism, which the U.S. Senate subcommittee describes as "unequalled in our history"; and sex delinquency, which in New Zealand now is "organized in a way not evident before," is affecting children as young as twelve, and is showing a higher proportion of cases in which girls are the principal of-

A study of the "bodgies" and "widgies" of Australia showed that they did not lack either intelligence or money. But "there was a very evident feeling of cynical hopelessness dominating all their thinking. Life lacked

a real purpose for them and a real security...."

And another study of "Teddy boys" in England showed that they, too, are "socially insecure." "They are purposeless; the war still attracts them because then there was one great overriding purpose, victory; they can find no great purpose of the same sort in the world today." The study concluded: "This sort of group movement must fill us with unease. Quite obviously society must protect itself against such lawless tendencies, and it must also try to solve the basic problem of why such groups come into being in such widely scattered areas."

Crime and Social Change

Another United Nations report attributes the increasing crime in many Asian, Arab, and African countries to social change; poverty, unemployment, and urbanization tend to break down social institutions and lead to inequality, maladjustment, and crime.

The authors of the report, "Prevention of Types of Criminality Resulting from Social Changes and Accompanying Economic Development in Less Developed Countries," suggest some measures to combat the problem. One is "controlled urbanization"-restricting the movement of the population to the towns. Industrial development should provide more employment opportunities in smallscale and cottage industries as well as in the towns. Social services should expand to give, among other things, help to the migrant family adjusting to new conditions. Social insurance and social assistance measures should help maintain family life. The report stresses the need for more education, particularly for women.

Among other interesting points made is that industrialization has a more pronounced effect on juvenile than on adult crime; juvenile crime in an acute form is confined to the cities. The report further notes that since women are now able to earn money by either working for wages or engaging in trade, it is "easier for them to break their marriage ties and to rebel against the inferior status imposed on them by certain traditional systems." Indeed, one cause of increased crime in newly industrialized countries is that those who come to the urban centers must comply with the official laws and regulations which they seldom accept as an intrinsic part of their rural cultures.

Other factors thought to account for the emergence of crime in urban areas include the educational system's failure to meet the needs of students; the "low quality" of literature and entertainment in urban areas; administrative failures, such as "scandal among high officials" and inadequate police protection; and legal shortcomings, such as loopholes in legislation.

Finally, the report stresses the need for reliable statistics and the need for caution in comparing statistics, for many countries define their categories of crimes and offenders differently.

Training for Prison Officers

The Staff Training College at Wakefield, Yorkshire, is attempting to effect a silent revolution in the British prison service.

The College provides eight-weeks' training courses for recruits, shorter refresher courses for prison officers who have been at work for years, and special courses for prison governors and chief officers.

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Men joining the British prison service as beginners (they must be between twenty-one and forty years old) first have six weeks' training in a prison or Borstal institution. Then they go to Wakefield where, besides some basic law and security training, they receive lectures from a probation officer, an aftercare worker, and a prison psychiatrist, who describe to them modern methods of group counseling and man-management. Lectures of this kind are also given at the refresher courses; there the prison officers divide into groups to discuss the questions that are raised.

Derrick Sington, in "Changing the Attitudes of Prison Officers" in the March, 1960 issue of the American Journal of Correction, points out that the College's success is encouraging, though it will take some time to re-educate all the 5,000 officers of the prison service in Britain. At present, not more than 250 a year are attending the "refresher courses."

Prisoners' Pay

A proposal that, as far as possible, prison labor be organized and paid in the same way as free labor will be placed before the Second United Nations Congress on the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders. It is one of a series of proposals in a UN Secretariat report, "The Integration of Prison Labor with the National Economy, Including the Remuneration of Prisoners," which seeks a "gradual process of integrating prison labor with free labor and of applying the principle of equal remuneration." The report maintains

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possible, and paid r will be nited Nation of Offenders. So as a Integrate Nationer Remulich seeks integrating or and of equal remaintains

that such integration would deal with the problem of competition between prison and free labor.

The report suggests that prison labor should have the protective, security, and economic advantages available to free labor. The prisoners themselves, with the cooperation of employers' and workers' organizations, could organize labor cooperatives. Integration could be assisted by increasing the number of open and semi-open institutions and establishing industries in them; by allowing more prisoners to work outside the institution; by abolishing penalties involving short periods of incarceration; and by establishing aftercare services, particularly for finding employment for prisoners on their release.

According to the report, the principle of equal pay for equal work (Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) ought to be applied to prison labor. However, since it cannot be applied fully and immediately in every country, the report suggests that, in the meantime, levels of remuneration should be established which are "really equitable, represent a general improvement upon present levels, and will facilitate the prisoner's rehabilitation." Prisoners should be paid not less than 33 per cent of the remuneration for equal work outside. Deductions should be made for the prisoner's benefit-so that he can accumulate a sum for use upon his release-and to contribute to the maintenance of his family, if he has one. Where prisoners receive pay equal to that on the outside, deductions may be made for administrative costs, clothing, and maintenance, and, in some cases, for payment of an indemnity to the victim of the crime.

The report quotes figures of the U.S. Federal Bureau of Prisons which show that last year 4,356 prisoners employed in industrial work were paid an average of \$33 per month; 7,659 employed in nonindustrial occupations averaged a little more than \$3 a month for outstandingly good work; the remaining prisoners, approximately half of the federal prison population, received no payment of any kind. In many European countries prisoners are regularly paid a small sum for their work. Sweden, (where, in general, prison labor remuneration is slight) is experimenting with equal pay for prisoners in the Vangdalen institution "with apparently successful results."

This month New York City is starting to pay some of its prisoners between five and ten cents a day for the work they do. At present all they get is a sandwich and twenty-five cents on discharge. New York State prisoners are paid from five to fifty cents a day, depending on the job.

New Developments

The governor of New Jersey has proposed to that state's legislature the construction of a new 1,500-man medium security prison.

The American Correctional Association stated it is "highly gratified" by the proposal, since the new prison would be "a major step forward in the long campaign to get rid of the frightful, overcrowded, ancient New Jersey State Prison" at Trenton. One section of the Trenton Prison was built well over a century ago; the cells, said the ACA, are dungeon-like and airless, and unfit for one man to live in, let alone for the three or four

men who are often herded in together for lack of other accomodation. The new prison should at least make it possible for these cells to be abandoned; however, the antiquated Trenton Prison should really be replaced by a complete new institution, said E. R. Cass, ACA general secretary.

The Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders has received \$2,000 from the Sachs Fund, of Boston, for psychoanalytic research on

juvenile murderers.

The Association also announces the formation of a Massachusetts chapter, and also of a Clergy Committee, to acquaint clergymen with the latest techniques in the rehabilitation of delinquents and to promote cooperation between the psychiatrist and the clergyman.

Two special commissions on Problems of Insanity Relating to Criminal Offenders have been set up in California. One is to study laws and judicial decisions "relating to the criminal responsibility of persons afflicted with mental diseases"; the other will study procedural practices applicable to offenders who have, or claim to have, mental diseases or disabilities.

Governor Brown appointed Thomas C. Lynch, district attorney of San Francisco County, to be chairman of both commissions. Grant Cooper, former chief deputy district attorney of Los Angeles County, is vice-chairman; he will be specially concerned with the commission on procedures. The substantive commission is staffed by Dr. Bernard Diamond, a San Francisco psychiatrist; Leo Friedman, a San Francisco criminal lawyer; and Arthur Sherry, professor of law and criminology, University of California, Berke-

ley. On the procedural commission are Dr. Edward Stainbrook, Department of Medicine, University of Southern California; Dr. Marcel Frym, criminologist and psychiatrist, The Hacker Clinic, Beverly Hills; Robert Kingsley, Dean, Law School, University of Southern California; and William B. McKesson, Los Angeles County district attorney. John A. Pettis, an Oakland lawyer, will be project and research director for both commissions, whose final reports are to be made by June 30, 1961.

A new national voluntary organization, The Family Life Foundation, Inc., was established recently. Its aim: to strengthen family life in America.

Its president is Philip R. Mather, a retired industrialist of Boston; among its other board members are Congresswoman Frances Payne Bolton, Cleveland; Professor Ernest G. Osborne, Teachers College, Columbia University; Leo Perlis, AFL-CIO, New York City; and Mrs. DeLeslie Allen, Rochester, N. Y.

The Foundation's main objectives are to find what makes a family function successfully and what impairs its functioning, and to recommend and sponsor programs to strengthen family life. It will support research in the field, and will act as an information center and clearing house for old and new research and for information on the work of the many other agencies concerned with the family; it will bring these agencies together in conferences to discuss problems and programs of action. It will support and carry out educational programs, in all media, for the general public, for young people preparing for marriage, and even for grade school children.

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The Foundation hopes to serve as a national citizens' group working to improve family life and the family's contribution to a stable society; it believes its work can also help remedy the national problems of divorce, delinquency, and emotional and mental illness.

The first institute for judges of Indiana's juvenile and criminal courts will be held August 25 to 27 at Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. It is sponsored by the advisory committee of judges of the NCCD Indiana Citizens Council on Crime and Delinquency. All judges in Indiana who deal with juvenile and criminal cases are invited to attend; the advisory committee will pay all their expenses for rooms and meals at the College.

The Ball Foundation of Muncie, Indiana, has given \$1,000 toward the institute program.

Judge Harold N. Fields, of the Marion County Juvenile Court, who is chairman of the advisory committee, will preside at the opening session on "delinquency proceedings." Among other judges presiding and speaking at the institute's sessions are Addison M. Beavers, Arch N. Bobbitt, Kenneth Dempsey, Russell Gordon, Amos V. Jackson, Lowell L. Pefley, and Merton Stanley.

Other highlights of the institute will be a dinner meeting of the Indiana State Judges Association, a luncheon meeting at which Bishop Craine and David Baker, chairman of the Indiana Council, will speak on "Citizens' Interest in the Judges' Institute," and panels and workshops on legal questions, probation and parole, psychiatric services, and institutional programs and problems. The judges will devote their final

luncheon meeting to "Looking for Errors."

The 90th Annual Congress of Correction will be conducted by the American Correctional Association at the Hilton Hotel in Denver from August 28 to September 2. The theme: "Corrections in Retrospect and Prospect."

One of the general sessions will be devoted to a discussion of the Model Penal Code by representatives from the American Correctional Association, the American Law Institute, and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Arthur V. Huffman, Supervising Sociologist, Division of the Criminologist, Illinois Department of Public Safety, Joliet, is chairman of the Congress' Program Committee. For further information, write to the ACA, 135 East 15 St., New York 3.

The National Council on Crime and Delinquency (formerly the National Probation and Parole Association), with the National Legal Aid and Defender Association and the Family Service Association of America, sponsored a meeting on "Legal Resources for the Indigent Defendant" at the National Conference on Social Welfare, held in Atlantic City, June 5-10.

Joseph McDonald, of the Family Service Association, was chairman; the members of the panel were Junius L. Allison, associate director of the Legal Aid and Defender Association, Chicago; Thomas W. Rauffenbart, president of the Atlantic County Bar Association, Atlantic City, N. J.; and Sol Rubin, NCCD counsel.

The New York City Department of Correction was host to the First Conference of the Mid-Eastern Region of the Correctional Education Association, on Rikers Island, June 7-9.

The conference theme was "Special Education in Correctional Settings"; workshops examined problems of instructing mentally retarded, physically handicapped, and emotionally disturbed inmate students; among the other topics discussed were personnel recruitment problems, professional standards, and basic curricula.

The Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders and the West Side Chapter (New York City) of the American Jewish Congress held a joint meeting on "The Prevention of Delinquency" on May 3. A. Alfred Cohen, superintendent of the Warwick Training School, was chairman; the speakers were Joseph Monserrat, director of the Migration Division, Puerto Rico Department of Labor; Dr. Melitta Schmideberg, of the APTO; and Dr. Martin Deutsch, State University of New York.

Publications

The Children's Bureau has issued the first six publications in its new "Facts and Facets" series, which presents, in capsule form, opinions and information about juvenile delinquency for members of the professions which deal with this problem:

1. "The Children's Bureau and Juvenile Delinquency" (30 cents). An account of the Bureau's efforts in delinquency prevention and control during the nearly half century of its existence.

2. "Sociological Theories and Their Implications for Juvenile Delinquen-

cy" (15 cents). A report on a conference called by the Bureau to discuss "aspects of lower-class delinquency," and the relation between youngsters' age-grade and delinquency, and between the family and delinquency. Io

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3. "Selected, Annotated Readings on Group Services in the Treatment and control of Juvenile Delinquency" (15 cents). Chosen to help practitioners work with delinquent groups in a variety of settings.

4. "Delinquency Prevention — the Size of the Problem" (15 cents). Statistical data which show not only that there has been a real rise in delinquency, but that the prospect for the future looks even worse.

5. "Identifying Potential Delinquents" (10 cents). An evaluation of some of the methods of identifying delinquent children, with the caution that such methods "overpredict, incorrectly labeling as pre-delinquent many children who (fortunately for society) do not merit that stigma."

6. "Family Courts an Urgent Need" (15 cents).

Each of these publications can be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Forthcoming publications will deal with the government's responsibility in delinquency programs, the role of state agencies, training needs, treatment services, a comparison of expenditures and standard costs for delinquency services, a survey of probation officers, the adolescent and delinquency, community prevention programs, and police staff training for juvenile law enforcement.

The Bureau of Correction of the Pennsylvania Department of Justice has recently issued five reports by a conto disinquenyoungcy, and quency. eadings eatment quency"

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ion of the of Justice reports by John G. Yeager, director of research and statistics:

- 1. "Prisoners in Pennsylvania, 1959." A report and analysis of state and county prison population and its fluctuations during the year.
- 2. "Census of Pennsylvania Prisoners by County, December 31, 1959." The author comments on such points as which counties commit most prisoners; the distribution of prisoners by race, sex, and length of sentence; and juvenile court cases.
- 3. "Time Served by Commuted Lifers in the Bureau of Correction, 1954-59." The average time served was about eighteen years; the shortest time, a little over seven years; and the longest time, thirty-six years and nine months.
- 4. "'Barr-Walker' Cases, or Special Sex Offenders in the Bureau of Cor-

rection, December 31, 1959." The Barr-Walker Act prescribes for certain sex offenders an indeterminate sentence, psychiatric reviews and treatment, and parole only under optimum conditions. The Bureau of Corrections also has a detailed report on thirty-eight Barr-Walker cases committed before 1958: "Characteristics of Barr-Walker Cases in the Bureau of Correction."

5. "Narcotic Violations in Pennsylvania Criminal Courts, 1933-58." The report shows a startling increase in the number of defendants disposed for narcotic violations—in 1946-49, 143; in 1950-53, 493; in 1954-58, 868—and suggests how this increase can be accounted for.

All these reports are available, without charge, from the Directorate of Research and Statistics, Bureau of Correction, Box 200, Camp Hill, Pa.

NPPA Annual Business Meeting

Kansas City, Mo., May 3, 1960

MINUTES

Herbert W. Kochs, President of NPPA, presided.

On motion from the floor, reading the minutes of the 1959 business meeting was waived, and the minutes as printed in the July, 1959 issue of the Journal were approved by unanimous vote.

Introduction of New NPPA Staff

Milton Rector, Director of NPPA, introduced staff members appointed during the past year:

Edgar W. Brewer, CAP Consultant, Western Office.

Paul Kalin, Consultant, Midwestern Office.

Harold Patton, CAP Consultant, New York.

Don Rademacher, CAP Consultant, Southern Office.

Herman Shepard, CAP Consultant, Headquarters Office.

Ray Scannell, ACJ Consultant, New York.

Willard Green, CAP Consultant, Midwestern Office.

Joseph Thimm, CAP Consultant, Western Office.

Association Activity in 1959

Mr. Kochs reviewed the major events and activities for 1959:

Will C. Turnbladh resigned as di-

rector and was elected to the Board of Trustees of NPPA.

Milton Rector was appointed as director.

In October, 1959, the Ford Foundation made a grant of \$1,095,000 for the extension of the Citizen Action Program in twenty to twenty-five additional states over a five-year period. The Association, Mr. Kochs reported, is tooling up for the expansion of the CAP and will use the grant for organizing new state committees and helping them become self-supporting by the end of the first year. He remarked that seven of the eight state CAP committees organized under the initial Ford Foundation grant have done an excellent job developing financial support necessary to maintain staff service. It is hoped that the program in all eight states will continue without letup.

TV and Horror Films

The impact on youth of crime, violence, and horror in movies and television programs will be studied at a working conference of fifteen experts who will meet in New York in June under a \$7,700 Ford Foundation grant to NPPA. If positive findings and recommendations result, the conference may lead to a more comprehensive action program.

Advisory Council of Judges

The NPPA Advisory Council of Judges, financed for another threeyear period by a \$48,000 grant from the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, is launching a special project to study the problems and treatment needs of the youthful offender.

Clearing Center

The NPPA Research and Information Clearing Center was launched

with a \$42,000 Rockefeller Foundation grant for an eighteen-month period. The Center, at NPPA headquarters, will develop information on research and act as a clearing house in the field of crime and delinquency. Dr. Hyman Frankel, of the University of Southern Illinois, will become its director in June.

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Association Field Activity

Mr. Kochs reported that in 1959 NPPA field staff provided consultation services in 134 cities in thirty-six states and completed twenty-seven surveys and studies. These figures do not include services rendered in our eight Citizen Action Program states.

National Community Study Service

NPPA, Family Service Association of America, Child Welfare League of America, and Traveler's Aid Association have established a procedure to provide communities with a total survey unit covering all aspects of community, children's, and family services. Maurice Hunt will direct all surveys conducted under the auspices of the cooperating agencies.

New Headquarters' Housing

Mr. Kochs informed the membership that a plan is being studied whereby a central headquarters office building would be shared by the related agencies mentioned above. The purpose of the arrangement would be to minimize costs and increase efficiency.

Financial Report

Mr. Kochs reported that although the Association's income has remained rather steady over the last decade— \$260,000 to \$270,000 a year—inflation has decreased the dollar value, and the number of staff has had to be reoundaoth peidquaron reouse in quency.

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although remained decade— -inflation alue, and to be reduced. However, foundation grants and the Citizen Action Program have alleviated a portion of staff and financial needs.

With our expanded program and demonstrated capacity for growth, the National Budget Committee authorized a \$200,000 increase for Chest and United Fund support of NPPA. Prior to this vote of confidence, NPPA allocated most of its increased income to existing CAP work. The total budget increase, approved by the NBC and to be sought from Chests and United Funds and from corporations and foundations, represents a 48 per cent increase over the budget granted for 1960 and will make it possible for us to gain public support for national leadership. To support the national and regional offices, CAP, ACJ, and the Research and Information Center. NPPA will need, within the next five years, an annual operating budget of approximately \$1,500,000.

Citation

Hugh Reed, Assistant Director of NPPA, paid tribute to an "old friend," Max Billman, Chief Probation Officer of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Adult Probation Department. A citation will be given Mr. Billman for his belief in professional training and affiliation, manifested in his probation staff's 100 per cent professional NPPA membership over a period of thirty years.

Name Change

Mr. Kochs reported that, having been authorized by the membership in 1959 to change the Association's name, the Board of Trustees had chosen the new name of National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The Board had been given 118 dif-

ferent suggestions; the new name selected was the one originally suggested by the membership in 1959. The new name has been reserved in the State of New York, and we will be incorporated under this name by June, 1960, at which time a new statement of purpose and other changes in the bylaws will be required.

Bylaws: Proposed Changes

Sol Rubin, NPPA Counsel, distributed to the membership copies of proposed changes in the bylaws. The membership read, reviewed, and discussed them, article by article. Mr. Rubin noted where changes had been made and pointed out that some articles were taken unchanged from the former bylaws. Discussion clarified the meaning of the articles and of a few editorial changes. The membership also discussed Article XIII, which provides that two-thirds of the members attending the annual meeting may amend the bylaws, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees. The consensus was that this article was a necessary safeguard against the possibility that a few members at an annual meeting would be able to govern the membership at large, and that the article protects the Board from having to attempt to carry out unworkable amendments. Mr. Kochs noted that the article leaves the way open for the Board to return to the membership a second time to discuss recommended changes that may be unwise. He also pointed out that the system permits the membership to make changes from the floor and thus protects them.

The proposed bylaws (to be reviewed and acted upon formally by the Board of Trustees at its meeting in September) are as follows:

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

ARTICLE I. NAME

The corporate name of the Council shall be the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

ARTICLE II. OBJECTIVES

The objectives of the Council are:

To help develop effective juvenile, family, and criminal courts; to help improve probation, parole, detention, and other correctional services and facilities; and to stimulate programs for the study, prevention, control, and treatment of crime and delinquency-by promoting public education, citizen action and leadership in concert with professional officials, supplying consultation on and surveys of correctional services, formulating standards and guides, drafting model legislation, conducting conferences and institutes, stimulating professional training, maintaining a center for the accumulation and analysis of information on crime and delinquency, and publishing literature for both professional and lay interests.

ARTICLE III. MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Council shall consist of persons who apply for membership and are accepted by the Board of Trustees and who pay dues annually. Members shall be classified as active members, contributing members, supporting members, sustaining members, and patrons. Active members shall be those who pay dues of \$5 a year as a minimum. Contributing members shall be those who contribute \$10 or more annually to the Council. Supporting members shall be those who contribute \$25 or more annually. Sustaining members shall be those who contribute \$100 or more annually. Patrons shall be those who contribute during a single calendar year \$1000 or more. Members who fail to pay their dues after reasonable notice in writing by the treasurer or executive director shall thereupon cease to be members.

ARTICLE IV. OFFICERS

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The officers of the Council shall consist of a president, one or more vice-presidents, a treasurer, and a secretary who shall be elected annually by the Board of Trustees and shall serve until their successors are elected, and an executive director who shall be elected by said board to serve during its pleasure. The board in its discretion may elect honorary officers who shall serve for such terms as the board shall determine. The president shall be ex officio a member of all committees of the board.

ARTICLE V. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The president shall have all the usual powers of president. He, or in his absence a vice-president, shall act as chairman at all business meetings of the Council. The treasurer shall have charge of the finances of the Council and shall report thereon to the Board of Trustees. The executive director shall be the chief administrative officer and shall be a member of the Board of Trustees ex officio. He shall be paid such compensation as may be determined by the board.

ARTICLE VI. EMPLOYEES

Other members of the executive staff and clerical assistants shall be appointed in such manner and for such terms and compensation as may be determined from time to time by the Board of Trustees.

ARTICLE VII. BOARD OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees shall consist of not less than sixty and not more than ninety members as the board shall determine from time to time, to be elected by the members of the Council at its annual meeting. At each annual meeting trustees shall be elected in number and for terms of three years or less as determined by the Board of Trustees, so that one-third of the terms of trustees shall expire each year. The board may fill any vacancy occurring among the officers or members of the Board of Trustees for the unexpired term, except that in the case of a vacancy occurring through in-

creasing the number of trustees, the appointment shall be until the next annual meeting of the organization. The board shall elect a chairman annually. He shall preside at all meetings of the board and shall be ex officio a member of all committees of the board.

ARTICLE VIII. DUTIES OF TRUSTEES

The Board of Trustees shall elect the officers, shall have general direction of the work of the Council, and shall administer its funds. It shall report to the members at the annual meeting and at such other times as may be required.

ARTICLE IX. COMMITTEES

The Board of Trustees shall annually elect an Executive Committee. The number of members of the committee and the number required to constitute a quorum shall be determined by the Board of Trustees. The committee shall elect its chairman annually. It shall have the power and perform the duties of the Board of Trustees between the meetings of the board.

A nominating committee consisting of five members of the Council shall be appointed by the president each year to nominate candidates for membership on the Board of Trustees. The Committee shall invite each state citizen action committee or council referred to in Article XI to propose at least one member, and shall invite each professional advisory council authorized in Article X to propose several members. Each state citizen committee or council and each advisory council shall be represented by at least one member, if proposed.

Such other standing and special committees as may be authorized by the Council or the Board of Trustees shall be appointed by the president, unless otherwise directed by the Council or by the board.

ARTICLE X. PROFESSIONAL COUNCILS

There shall be advisory councils of the national Council to include judges, rep-

resentatives of court and correctional services, and such other related professional services as determined by the membership with the approval of the Board of Trustees. The existing Professional Council, Advisory Council on Parole, and Advisory Council of Judges shall be continued. Each advisory council shall be governed by its bylaws, as approved by the Board of Trustees. The councils shall develop standards of professional work and shall make recommendations to the Board of Trustees with regard to such matters.

ARTICLE XI. STATE CITIZEN ACTION COMMITTEES

The Council shall help develop and promote sound methods of preventing and correcting delinquency and crime through a national citizen movement consisting of state citizen action committees and councils. The Council shall appoint the members of the state citizen action committees. State committee members shall be selected from business, labor, industrial, professional, and other civic leaders. The staff for the state action program shall be appointed by the Council. Each state committee may adopt rules for its organization and procedure.

ARTICLE XII. MEETINGS

The annual meeting of the Council shall, be held at such place as may be determined by the Board of Trustees. Special meetings may be held as determined by the board. Twenty members shall constitute a quorum. Meetings of the Board of Trustees shall be held at such times and places as the board may determine. Twenty members shall constitute a quorum of the board.

ARTICLE XIII. AMENDMENTS

These bylaws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members of the Council present at the annual meeting, subject to the approval of the Board of Trustees.

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Resolutions and Motions

The Resolutions Committee, consisting of Heman Stark (chairman), A. Whittier Day, James S. Henahan, Vincent O'Leary, and Ben S. Meeker, reported the following:

Whereas major speakers at this National Institute have stressed the importance of administrative statistics and action research by court and correctional services in necessary selfexamination of their work and in achieving improved methods of operation and treatment, and

Whereas the National Probation and Parole Association has established a National Research and Information

Clearing Center,

Be it therefore resolved that court and correctional services initiate programs of administrative statistics and action-research projects based upon their ongoing operations, and

Be it further resolved that the National Research and Information Clearing Center of the NPPA support such research through its services.

Mr. Stark moved adoption of the resolution. The motion was seconded. Discussion made it clear that NPPA was to "support" the research suggested by the resolution. The resolution was adopted by unanimous vote.

Whereas a committee appointed by the American Correctional Association has been endeavoring to secure modification of Executive Order No. 325-A, dated May 18, 1905, and federal legislation to the same effect, which prevent the employment of inmates of state correctional institutions by agencies of the federal government, including the armed forces, U.S. Forest Service, Bureau of Land Management, and National Park Services, and

Whereas such employment would be beneficial to the inmates and would reduce federal expenses.

Be it therefore resolved that the NPPA support and endorse the efforts of the American Correctional Association committee to secure modification of Executive Order No. 325-A and federal legislation to the same effect, so that federal agencies may employ inmates of state correctional institutions, and

Be it further resolved that NPPA urge the Congress to amend the federal legislation, and that NPPA urge the President to enable such employment by modifying the Executive Or-

Mr. Stark's motion for adoption was seconded from the floor. Discussion clarified that the resolution was adopted at a meeting of NPPA-not of the National Institute, as originally stated in the resolution-and the wording was so amended. The motion was adopted unanimously.

Whereas the need for improved and enlarged probation services and facilities for commitment and treatment is obscured and efforts to secure such improvements hampered in communities where there is no restriction upon the maximum number of children who may be detained at a given time,

Whereas it is recognized that overcrowding detention homes is detrimental to the safety and welfare of the children detained at times when capacity is exceeded,

Be it therefore resolved that maximum capacity be legally established for every detention home in accordance with accepted standards of care,

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at maxiablished accordof care, Be it further resolved that responsible authorities be urged to make every effort to protect children by securing sufficient probation staff and treatment facilities and by effective screening of admissions and expeditious processing of cases to prevent such overcrowding.

Mr. Stark's motion for adoption of the resolution was seconded from the floor. There was no discussion, and the motion was adopted unanimously.

Be it resolved that the National Probation and Parole Association extend its appreciation to the Central States Corrections Association and its president, Thomas R. Jones, to the Missouri Corrections Association and its president, James Carmichael, and to the Kansas Probation and Parole Association and its president, Marvin J. Hund, for joining with the National Probation and Parole Association and its president, Herbert W. Kochs, in taking the leadership for the development of a conference that has been valuable for all those attending and that has focused national attention on the role of professional services in combating crime and delinquency, and

Be it further resolved that NPPA extend recognition and appreciation to Earl L. Petersen, general chairman, and to Delmar Huebner, chairman of the Planning Committee and the Program Committee, and to the many committee chairmen and their associates without whose labor and initiative this institute could not have been so successful.

Mr. Stark's motion for adoption was seconded from the floor. The motion was adopted unanimously.

A request was made for NPPA support toward having a bill before the U.S. Congress get out of committee. The bill concerns an appropriation to aid research and training in the field of juvenile delinquency. William Green reported that the bill in question-the Juvenile Delinquency Act of 1960, Senate Bill 694-had already passed the Senate. The Senate bill provides \$5,000,000 annually for five years for direct grants to states and municipalities, public and private agencies, for (1) research and demonstrations; and (2) training of personnel. The bill, now in the Education and Labor Committee of the House, had been amended to delete the provision of training of personnel in the Senate bill and to provide \$2,500,000. The bill was reported to be ready for vote in the Education and Labor Committee within a week, and the membership felt that much citizen support was necessary to bring the bill out of committee.

A motion was made from the floor that NPPA support by appropriate action the Senate version and express this support to the chairman of the House Committee on Education and Labor. The motion was seconded and was adopted unanimously. With the membership's approval, Mr. Kochs directed the secretary to draft a telegram to that effect and forward it to the chairman of the House Education and Labor Committee. (Note: The secretary forwarded the telegram, as directed, on May 4, 1960.)

Nominations

Members of the Nominations Committee were Randolph Wise (chairman), Albert Carter, Edward Hendrick, and Charles H. Shireman.

The following, whose terms expired this year, were renominated for membership on the Board of Trustees:

Henrietta Additon	New	York
Mrs. Julius Ochs Adler	New	York
Chester A. Allen	New	York
Donald H. Black	New	York
Franklin F. Bruder	New	York
Joseph Y. Cheney	Florida	
Hon. Irving Ben		

New Jersey
New York
Illinois
New York
Pennsylvania
New York
Washington
California
California
New York
Illinois
West Virginia
Massachusetts
Texas
New York
New Jersey
Michigan

Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady	Washington, D. C.
Hon. Paul C. Reardon	Massachusett
George J. Reed	Washington, D. C.
Hon. Scovel	
Richardson	New York
Hon. George W. Smyth	New York
Heman G. Stark	California
Harold W. Story	Wisconsin
Randall Swanberg	Montana
Rodney C. Ward	New York

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Charles F. Zeltner	New York
The following pers	ons were newly
elected to the Board:	
Robert W. Knauft	Ohio
Ben S. Meeker	Illinois
Russell G. Oswald	New York
Elizabeth Glenn	
Ravdin, M.D.	Pennsylvania

Mr. Wise moved that the nominations submitted by the Nominations Committee be adopted. The motion was seconded from the floor and was adopted by unanimous vote.

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Employment Opportunities

[Employment opportunities not included below because of CRIME AND DELINQUENCY publication deadlines are described in a mimeographed announcement available at request from the Midwestern office of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, 1536 Vincennes Avenue, Chicago Heights, Illinois.]

Saint Anthony, Idaho

Social Worker, Industrial Training School. Minimum age: 23. Minimum qualifications: (a) B.S., major in sociology, or M.S.W.; (b) knowledge of social work principles, counseling; elementary knowledge of planning and developing social services; (c) ability to write and speak clearly; to establish working relationships with individuals, organizations, and community groups. Starting salary, \$4,500 to \$6,000, dependent on qualifications. Write to Winston G. Taylor, Box 40, St. Anthony, Idaho.

Iowa

Psychologists, Iowa State Penitentiary, Ft. Madison, and Men's Reformatory, Anamosa. M.A. and one year's experience. Salary, \$6,240 to \$9,900; starting salary dependent on qualifications. Write to Harlan Schooler, Personnel Officer, Board of Control of State Institutions, State Office Building, Des Moines 9, Iowa.

Ohio

Case Analyst (Social Worker IV). Assist in case analysis for Pardon and Parole Commission. Assist Secretary and Commission in research and publication projects. Screen all mail addressed to Commission requesting parole action or reconsideration. M.S.W. and 5 years' experience in casework, preferably in cor-

rection. Starting salary, \$6,900 to \$8,280. Write to Ohio Pardon and Parole Commission, Room 307, Wyandotte Bldg., 21 W. Broad St., Columbus 15, Ohio.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Supervisors (2), male and female, juvenile division of Court of Common Pleas. Supervision of 6 probation officers with varying degrees of experience, training; administration; participation in community relations program. M.S.W. Starting salary, \$6,500. Write to Fred Fragner, Chief Probation Officer, Hamilton County Juvenile Court Center, 2020 Auburn Ave., Cincinnati 19, Ohio.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Supervisor, Casework Services, juvenile court, responsible for casework of 6 probation officers. M.S.W., 3 years' casework, one year supervision experience. Salary, \$5,772 to \$7,368.

Juvenile Probation Officer II. M.S.W. and 2 years' casework experience. Salary, \$5,224 to \$6,684.

Juvenile Probation Officer I. M.S.W. or bachelor's degree and 2 years' casework experience. Salary, \$4,752 to \$5,772.

Apply to C. Boyd McDivitt, Chief Probation Officer, Allegheny County Juvenile Court, 3333 Forbes Ave., Pittsburgh 13, Pa.

Arlington, Virginia

Superintendent, regional juvenile detention home serving 4 courts. B.A. in social sciences and 2 years' experience in juvenile detention; certified by State Board of Welfare and Institutions. Salary, \$6,520 to \$7,900. Write to Hugh Reid, Chairman, Personnel Committee, 1430 N. Uhle St., Arlington, Va.

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Book Reviews

Reaching the Fighting Gang, New York City Youth Board. Pp. 305. New York, New York City Youth Board, 1960, \$3.

A significant and fascinating development during the past decade has been the attempt to prevent delinquency in large cities by working on the block with a "street gang." Such group work in "inner city" areas, as described by Harrison Salisbury in The Shook-Up Generation, has provided a wealth of information on the status problems and antisocial activities of disaffected young people. The larger cities have been devising a number of fairly broad approaches to the seemingly self-perpetuating delinquency problem, with its accompanying waste of precious human resources.

Reaching the Fighting Gang uses this extensive and carefully documented experience to help us understand what must be done about delinguency and how to do it. In a boldly experimental climate, several methods have been developed for coping with gang-based antisocial behavior, and the proponents of these approaches have attempted to learn from one another. The oldest approach involves the "area" projects, pioneered in Chicago by the late Clifford Shaw and still being used by his associates. More recently, efforts are being made both in Chicago and on New York's Lower East Side to promote the wide-scale application of sociological theories dealing with the urban community. contemporary These projects have in common an activity-centered approach and mutual reinforcement of theory and practice. All are refreshingly free from the shrill assertions of claim and counterclaim, dogma and anti-dogma, and their efforts converge upon one goal: acquisition of applicable knowlwor "str

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This reviewer, who was at one time closely associated with the New York City Youth Board "saturation" approach to conflict street clubs in high delinquency areas, finds the goals, methods, and techniques of this approach abundantly described in Reaching the Fighting Gang. Remarkably, not only has the "street club project" expanded in coverage and number of workers assigned, but also experience has demonstrated the enduring practicality of the postulates of those beginning days.

Reaching the Fighting Gang reviews the situation after World War II, when the emergence of numerous conflict groups demanded unusual containment and correction methods. Eventually, the Youth Board adopted the "saturation" approach. A number of "detached" workers, assigned by and responsible to the Youth Board, work simultaneously with all major conflict groups within a definite geographic area. Each worker is given a single "club" and works intensively with its members on both a group and an individual basis. His aim is to lead them toward a constructive, selffulfilling participation in community life. When the worker sees evidence that the members and their leader have exchanged antisocial behavior for healthier personal, vocational, and social adjustments, this change constitutes successful termination and the worker is reassigned. Because the "street club project" is the first largescale endeavor of its kind to be directed, operated, and supported by a government agency, the Youth Board

experience is unique.

Reaching the Fighting Gang contains a considerable amount of valuable, well-documented information about these fighting groups-their activities, identifications, leadership, organization, and life expectancy; it analyzes their intergroup conflict and examines the methods the Youth Board has developed to protect the community and resolve hostilities, but it allots far more space to the nature of the street workers' service. From the standpoint of reader interest and actual learning opportunity for both layman and professional, these are the most rewarding chapters. The reader finds real excitement in the boys' maturation as they respond to their workers' professional skill and experience. While one is always aware of the many individual and social ills to which these boys are heir, the book emphasizes their positive qualities and their thoroughly human aspirations. It gives us a faith in the potential of youth-a tonic approach for readers so often disheartened by current hysterical emphasis on young people as "alienated.'

The reader will have difficulty choosing his favorite passage. This reviewer's choice would be found not in the valuable section which analyzes professional content and technique, but rather among the many recorded excerpts of actual contact between groups, individuals, and workers. The episode, "Week-end Camping Trip," discloses a wonderful picture of street club boys as basically the same as adolescents everywhere, but embody-

ing a singular mixture of city sophistication and childish timidity. Obvious, too, is their worker's warmth, sensitivity, and responsible guidance.

The worker tells the story:

"We walked about a half mile in the snow. Everybody was afraid of every noise in the bushes and we fell down at least a half dozen times. The boys all exhibited tremendous exultation at the deep, dry, powdery snow and the frozen stream and waterfall We walked about one half mile to the farmer's home.... A young lamb ran over to play with the boys and they started to run away and huddled around me."

When we become more responsible about the problem of delinquency, we will see that the differences between groups of people need not be so threatening as to necessitate only measures of repression and strict control. At the present time, we can be grateful that the Youth Board has dealt with the difficult problem of juvenile delinquency and gang conflict in such a way as to highlight the tremendous challenge facing us: we must help these young people handle the many life-adjustment problems which our society itself has created for them.

The book acknowledges Hugh K. Johnson, Chief of the Council of Social and Athletic Clubs, as having had "the responsibility of organizing and writing the first draft of this work." Anyone who knows Mr. Johnson and is familiar with his vast contribution to street club work can instantly recognize the unmistakable stamp of his talent and great sensitivity in the contents of Reaching the Fighting Gang.

RAYMOND SCANNELL Advisory Council of Consultant, Judges, NCCD

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ang rerld War umerous unusual methods. adopted number gned by n Board, ll major nite geois given tensively a group aim is to tive, selfmmunity

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nge conand the The Professional Houseparent, Eva Burmeister. Pp. 271. New York, Columbia University Press, 1960, \$4.

Here is a book that everyone in children's institutions has been waiting for: an up-to-date guide for houseparents. We have long been saying that the houseparent is the key staff person in a children's institution, yet professional literature for the houseparent is scarce. Where it exists it is often too superficial or too academic. The Professional Houseparent is neither. Delightfully written, professionally sound, very much down-to-earth, the book deals with all aspects of the work, from everyday routines to sex attitudes and education.

The Professional Houseparent is concerned with children from six to fifteen years of age who are in institutions because they are dependent, neglected, or delinquent. The emphasis is on *children*, not on labels. Those who distinguish between delinquents and children may feel that the book is not for them.

Eva Burmeister considers the problems children encounter in group living in the light of child development. Data on the younger child have implications for handling the older child -and vice versa. Particularly valuable is the author's ability to see the houseparent's problems from inside the child and from inside the houseparent at the same time. There is real sympathy for and understanding of the houseparent's point of view. Indeed, The Professional Houseparent may well become the houseparent's "Spock."

The book's fifteen chapters are introduced by a discussion of the growth of the normal child and of the effect on him of his parents' behavior during the important, personality-setting

early years. It goes on to show how, when the child reaches an institution, the houseparent can give some certainty and continuity to a life which has been distorted by unfortunate early experiences. "Some of the seemingly simple and homely things that go into everyday living in "groups" may add to the child's confusion or can become the very means of restoring his self-esteem and confidence in the world.

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Too often, houseparents use the techniques for dealing with children in groups which they themselves experienced when they were growing up. The Professional Houseparent describes, with examples, how different methods of handling day-to-day problems affect the child. Which method is preferable is unmistakably clear. The book discusses the importance of the houseparent's attitudes and behavior toward children's food, sleep, baths, clothes, work, and play. The chapters on play and play equipment alone are worth the price of the book. They include a list of recommended supplies for the houseparent to keep in her own supply cupboard. However, nothing can buy the sound attitudes that permeate this book from beginning to end, whether the subject is religion, the handling of the Christmas season, the value of pets, or the ever-present problem of discipline. The goal of discipline is put simply as "not to have obedient, conforming children and a restful milieu for the staff, but rather children who are being helped toward as normal and healthy personalities as each individual can attain." The specific hints and suggestions for the houseparent are good for children of any age.

One of the outstanding problems in operating any institution, from the

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blems in rom the administrator's office to the houseparent's cottage, is that of finding a balance between regulation and flexibility. Too often the child is seen as a pawn, to be manipulated ostensibly "for his own good" but in reality for the smooth running of the institution. Eva Burmeister shows us how group living in an institution can be both firm and flexible. She shows us, too, how the skillful houseparent can help the child to "catch up" physically and emotionally by providing for him the normal home satisfactions which are her stock in trade. After all, what is an institution for?

The typical social worker is too often naive in the field of child development. This book brings a knowledge of child development to enrich social work, and is free from the social work jargon of the graduate school. We need more books of this kind.

SHERWOOD NORMAN Director of Detention Services, NCCD

Alexander Maconochie of Norfolk Island, John Vincent Barry, Pp. 341. Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1958, \$6.50.

Norfolk Island, lying ninety-three miles out into the Pacific Ocean eastnortheast of Sydney, Australia, is an elliptical piece of land some thirteen square miles in area. It is noted for both its equable climate and its damnable history. Today, Norfolk Island has fewer than 1,000 inhabitants, all relatively tranquil and undistinguished. From 1840 to 1844, however, it was inhabited by an average of 1,500 to 2,000 of the worst of England's convicts, consigned there by the system of punitive transportation. These four years in the history of Norfolk Island are at the heart of

John Vincent Barry's excellent biographical study of Captain Alexander Maconochie (1787-1860), the man who was then in charge of the penal settlement and who used it as a laboratory for his ideas on reformation in an experiment that was, all at the same time, extraordinarily progressive, touchingly compassionate,

and crudely naive.

This careful evaluation of Maconochie's life, written by a justice of the Supreme Court of Victoria, describes with exquisite reasonableness -neither worshipful nor vindictive-Maconochie's progress in gathering together the wisest ideas in correctional thought, filtering them through his own keen mind, and then attempting to apply them. The results appear to have been singularly impressive from the point of view of correction; from the point of view of Maconochie's career and peace of mind, however, they were almost unremittingly miserable. Justice Barry points out that such paradoxical results not only were the product of inadequate facilities and inexpert, often treacherous associates, but also were traceable to the character of Maconochie himself.

Most American correctional people know Maconochie primarily from scattered references in various criminological texts to his Mark System. Justice Barry's book adds the first solid documentation to these teasing items. The story is worth studying carefully, both for its historical significance and for some administrative lessons that it teaches; as its author notes, the Maconochie story is "at once fascinating, saddening, and instructive." Justice Barry accounts for the fact that Maconochie made so striking a social contribution only to be repaid with "derision, hostility, and neglect" in his observation that Maconochie was not subtle enough to appraise the social climate of his time and to cater to it at least enough to protect himself while he pushed ahead with his reforms.

The bare details of Maconochie's life are these: his first career was with the Navy, where he attained the rank of captain; during this period, he spent two years as a prisoner of war (unhappily, these are only sketchily detailed in the biography). In 1837, Maconochie went to Van Dieman's Land as private secretary to the governor. His penal career began when he prepared a highly critical report on the operation of the convict transportation system for the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline in London. The report, quite correctly, called the system a "moral gangrene" and charged that "its chosen policy was terror and its predominant feature was misery."

Maconochie was subsequently allowed to test his own ideas on Norfolk Island. His Mark System, as is well known, was a work program which substituted task for time. The inmate literally worked his way free, receiving time-reduction rewards for being punctual, industrious, obedient, and temperate. Incidentally, according to Justice Barry, Maconochie would have much preferred his system to current methods of psychiatric evaluation of sentences for inmates. Prisoners should, Maconochie felt, "be treated according to their acts, not their tendencies."

After his removal from Norfolk Island, Maconochie subsequently (1849-1851) served as head of the Birmingham Prison, where his administration again ended in disrepute. Barry corrects, with scrupulous documentary

support, some slanders leveled against Maconochie's work at Birmingham, but he also notes, and cannot explain, "the puzzling inconsistency between Maconochie's philosophy and the practices found against him" by competent investigators.

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Justice Barry's scholarly book is a valuable reminder of Maconochie's work and a well-deserved re-evaluation of his career, particularly in view of the rather irresponsible allegations about Maconochie which have been appearing in British and Australian biographies of contemporaries with whom he was associated. That Maconochie now reaps in full measure the credit he so obviously deserves is a tribute in part to his indefatigable pamphleteering and to his unremitting public proselytizing. His vindication may also hearten other pioneers who are at the moment suffering the slings and arrows of contemporary correctional sluggishness and indifference.

GILBERT GEIS
Assistant Professor, Department of
Sociology, Los Angeles State College

African Homicide and Suicide, Paul Bohannan (editor). Pp. 294, Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1960, \$6.

A Study in Indian Crime, Perin C. Kerawalla. Pp. 215. Bombay, India, Popular Book Depot (available from Orientalia Book Shop, Inc., 11 East 12 St., New York 3, N. Y.), 1959, \$4.75.

The literature on homicide and suicide is considerably enriched with the publication of African Homicide and Suicide. Von Hentig has made studies of the relationship between the criminal and his victim, and more

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Suicide, Pp. 294, niversity e, Perin

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recently Marvin Wolfgang wrote a penetrating analysis in *Patterns of Criminal Homicide*. The literature on suicide has been fuller. But criminologists have not, for the most part, studied the relationship of the offender and his victim in a general social and cultural setting. Dr. Bohannan has made such a study.

African Homicide and Suicide is a penetrating inquiry into the sociology and anthropology of these two aspects of life-taking. Illustrative case material is presented for each of seven tribes. Those who believe that capital punishment should be abolished should find much to support the argument that the offender is not in full control of his mind when he commits a crime. Though the cross-cultural comparisons are a bit contrived at points, this is a very worthwhile book and is a significant contribution to the literature of comparative criminology.

A Study In Indian Crime, on the other hand, is a sophomoric attempt to describe the crime situation in Bombay State, and "is directed to an ascertainment of current structural patterns of criminal behavior, and towards isolating major areas of change therein." This book was originally presented to the University of Bombay as a doctoral thesis under the title, "Nature and Volume of Crime in Bombay State." The earlier title would probably be more appropriate for this book, which mostly contains descriptive statistics.

The author presents a large number of amateurish case histories of inmates in the Bombay jail. The classification of these cases is incredibly naive, as, for example, "the innocent criminal," "the criminal by accident," "the corrupt official," "the occasional criminal," "the hardened criminal," "the

repentant criminal," and the "white collar criminal." Most of the cases would fit into at least three of the categories, and the author does not explain what are the criteria for his system of classification.

We need good comparative criminological material, but A Study in Indian Crime falls quite short of the

CHARLES L. NEWMAN
Director, Division of Correctional
Training, Kent School of Social
Work, University of Louisville

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

What's New in Correctional Research, United Prison Association of Massachusetts (Bulletin No. 8), Boston, December, 1958. Pp. 66.

After discussing the nature and use of correctional research, Albert Morris, who compiles and edits the bulletin, reviews recent research on "The Types and Characteristics of Offenders as Related to Treatment," "The Effects of Police and Court Procedures," "The Role of Probation in the Treatment Process," "The Characteristics of Prisons and Jails," "The Jail as a Correctional Agency," "Problems in Prison Management," "Values in Studies in the Appraisal of Personality," "Studies in the Modification of Personality," and "Trends in Correctional Research." A selected (and extensive) bibliography of works quoted or referred to completes the bulletin.

Sentencing, Law and Contemporary Problems (Volume XXIII, No. 3), Duke University, Durham, N. C., Summer, 1958. Pp. 183. \$2.

This symposium was drawn up shortly after the American Law Institute and NPPA had each published their proposals for sentencing. In it Paul W. Tappan writes on "Sentencing under the Model Penal Code" (of the Law Institute), and Will C. Turnbladh, then director of NPPA, writes a critique of the code. The other articles in the issue are "The Aims of the Criminal Law," "Diagnostic Techniques in Aid of Sentencing," "Predictive Devices and the Individualization of Justice" Sheldon Glueck), "Sentencing Structure: Its Effect upon Systems for the Administration of Criminal Justice," "The Juvenile Court: Contradictory Orientations for Processing Offenders," and "Comparative Sentencing Practice."

Crime and Correction, Law and Contemporary Problems (Volume XXIII, No. 4), Duke University, Durham, N. C., Autumn, 1958. Pp. 200. \$2.

This special issue deals with the various theories of the cause and correction of criminal behavior. Three articles which put forward the legal, psychiatric, and sociological points of view on correction are each followed by a critique. Other articles discuss "Correction in Historical Perspective," "White-Collar Crime," "The Nature and Effectiveness of Correctional Techniques," and "Some Reflections on the Role of Correctional Research." Among the contributors to this issue are Thorsten Sellin and Donald R. Cressey.

Mental Disease and Criminal Responsibility, The Catholic Lawyer (Volume 5, No. 1), St. John's Univer-

sity School of Law, Brooklyn, N. Y., Winter, 1959. Pp. 95. \$1.50.

This is the second part of a symposium on insanity as a defense in criminal cases. The first part (in the Autumn, 1958 issue of The Catholic Lawyer) dealt with the traditional M'Naghten Rule, which allowed that a plea of insanity could be entered if the offender could not be considered responsible for his act, or if he did not know it was wrong. In this issue of the journal contributors discuss the Durham Rule, which allows that a man is not criminally responsible if his unlawful act is the product of mental disease or mental defect. Practicing lawyers discuss prosecution problems and defense problems under the Durham Rule.

Seminar on Psychiatry and Psychology as a Tool for Lawyers, Bar Bulletin, (Volume 16, No. 4), New York County Lawyers Association, New York, January-February, 1959. Pp. 44.

This is a record of the proceedings at a seminar on what the editors call the "X" element in legal justice. The articles, by psychiatrists as well as by lawyers, are: "To Break the Hold of the Past," "The Lawyer of the Future," "A Practical View from the Bench," "Are Lawyers Missing the Boat?" and "The Client and You—What Are You?"

The Lawyer and the Social Worker, Family Service Association of America, New York, 1959. Pp. 36. 65 cents.

The Family Service Association's Committee on Lawyer-Family Agency Cooperation makes a plea for a closer working relationship between law and social tion marit adopt tions work diffice gestic come encontion

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ciation's Agency a closer law and social work, particularly in connection with such family problems as marital conflict, debt adjustment, and adoption. It has sections on the functions of the lawyer and of the social worker, a discussion of the common difficulties of cooperation, and suggestions on how they can be overcome. The committee also describes encouraging experiments in cooperation in a number of communities.

Study on Traffic in Persons and Prostitution, United Nations, New York, 1959. Pp. 57. 50 cents.

The chapters in this booklet are: "International Action," "Extent and Nature of the Problem," "The Abolition of the Regulation of Prostitution," "The Legal Status of Prostitution," "The Prevention of Venereal Disease," "The Prevention of Prostitution," "Legal Provisions Proscribing the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Traffic of Others," "Re-education of Persons Engaged in Prostitution," and "Program of Action."

The Selection of Offenders for Probation, United Nations, New York, 1959. Pp. 66. 50 cents.

This report is by Dr. Max Grünhut, Reader in Criminology, Oxford University, in cooperation with the United Nations Secretariat. Since 1948, when the Social Commission of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations included probation as a priority item in its social defense program, it has conducted seminars and published a number of studies on probation. This report discusses present probation and sentencing methods generally before reviewing experience in England, the Federal Republic of

Germany, and, briefly, France and Sweden.

Courts for Adolescents, Hermann Mannheim, Institute for the Study and Treatment of Delinquency, London, 1958. Pp. 24. 25 cents.

Dr. Mannheim makes a plea for the establishment in Britain of special courts for the seventeen- to twenty-one-year-old age group, as parts of the ordinary adult criminal courts. He briefly describes practice in Western Germany and in Sweden, and gives a full account of the Youthful Offender procedure in New York City and the Boys' Court of Chicago. The appendix is devoted to "Some Observations concerning American and Canadian Juvenile Courts."

Staff Relationships and Attitudes in a Juvenile Correctional Institution, Robert D. Vintner and Roger M. Lind, University of Michigan School of Social Work, Ann Arbor, 1958. Pp. 61.

The authors have made a study of the Boys Vocational School at Lansing, Michigan, in order to assess the staff's position in an institution that is progressing from custodial and punitive attitudes to a philosophy of rehabilitation. The chapters are on "Organization of the School," "Institutional Goals," "Formal Rules, Personal Procedures, and Discipline," "Staff Group Relations," and "The Conformity Orientation." Findings from questionnaires and interviews with staff members on a variety of subjects are presented in statistical tables.

A Look at Juvenile Delinquency, U.S. Children's Bureau (Publication No. 380), Washington, D. C., 1960. Pp. 50. 25 cents.

This booklet, by Lincoln Daniels, Chief of the Community Services Branch of the Bureau's Division of Juvenile Delinquency Service, is addressed to the general public, particularly to community leaders. A brief discussion of the nature and causes of delinquency precedes an account of various means of prevention. The author emphasizes the importance of research and the need for trained workers, points out the danger and futility of such single solutions as punishment (of the child or of his parents), recreation, curfews, and youth employment, and describes the many services which help troubled children. Services for delinquent children are described, too-police, detention, juvenile court, probation, training school, aftercare. There is a full section of recommendations for citizen action.

Adolescence and Juvenile Delinquency, Chaplain Harold E. Davidson, Circleville, Ohio, 1960. Pp. 61.

In the first section of the booklet the author discusses the normal characteristics and problems of adolescents, and makes suggestions, chiefly for parents, on how to deal with them. He writes of children's need of love in their early years and their need to have limits set for them but to be independent and trusted in their adolescence. The last part of the booklet deals with delinquency, exploring some of the causes, pointing out that society itself is in many ways delinquent, and describing some of the tools for dealing with delinquent children which society either uses or misuses.

Youth Reaches Youth, Sister Maria Mercedes, S.S.N.D., National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C., 1959. Pp. 71. 75 cents.

This is a study of a personal service project in which eight women college students from Notre Dame of Maryland worked with a group of delinquent girls from St. Euphrasia School in Baltimore. The college students led groups in dramatics, creative dancing, art, remedial school work, and music fundamentals; one student worked with an individual girl. The report is based on recorded interviews with the college students and the delinquent girls. The section on "Evaluation" gives the opinions of the director, the college students, the group mothers, the faculty adviser, and the girls themselves on the success of the project.

Disadvantaged Children and the World of Work, The American Child, National Child Labor Committee, New York, 1958. Pp. 24.

Employment of adolescents is discussed in short articles on "The School Drop-out," "The Uneducables': Hard to Reach Adolescents," "Children on the Move" (the children of migrant workers), "Children of Low-Income Farm Families," "Minority Youth," and "Juvenile Delinquency."

. Child Welfare as a Field of Social Work Practice, Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1959. Pp. 32. 75 cents.

The primary purpose of this booklet is to help schools of social work in curriculum building and agencies in staff training. In it, child welfare is define cussed quire fare" Worl

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of Social Welfare ork, 1959.

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Standards for Adoption Service, Child Welfare League of America, New York, 1959. Pp. 78. \$1.50.

This publication of standards deals with the following points: "Adoption as a Child Welfare Service," "Services to Natural Parents," "Services to the Child," "Placement and Supervision," "Services to Adoptive Parents," "Organization and Administration of an Adoption Service," "Adoption Services and the Community." "Recommended Legislation" is covered in an appendix and there is a final list of "Selected References."

Aid to Dependent Children, National Social Welfare Assembly, Inc., New York, 1960. Pp. 36. 50 cents.

The contents of this booklet are: "Changing Society and Some of Its Effects on the Family," "The Role and Scope of Social Welfare Today," "The Purpose, Philosophy, and Administration of Aid to Dependent Children," "Contributions of the ADC Program," "Problems In and For ADC," "Community Mobilization for the Welfare of Children Receiving ADC," and "A Guide for Looking at an ADC Program."

BOOKS RECEIVED

Child Welfare, DOROTHY ZEITZ, Pp. 384. New York, John Wiley, 1959. \$5.50.

Mental Subnormality, RICHARD L.
MASLAND, SEYMOUR B. SARASON, AND
THOMAS GLADWIN. Pp. 442. New
York, Basic Books, 1958. \$6.75.
Helping the Troubled School Child,

GRACE LEE, ED. Pp. 447. New York, National Association of Social Workers, 1959. \$5.

Our Troubled. Youth, FREDERICK MAYER. Pp. 93. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1959. \$2.50.

Understanding Juvenile Delinquency, LEE R. STEINER. Pp. 199. Philadelphia, Chilton Company, 1960. \$3.95.

The Wasted Years: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency, Jess Stearn. Pp. 231. New York, Doubleday, 1959. \$3.95.

They Talked to a Stranger, Len O'Connor. Pp. 276. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1959. \$3.95.

The Jury Is Still Out, IRWIN D. DA-VIDSON AND RICHARD GEHMAN. Pp. 308. New York, Harper, 1959. \$4.50.

My Unwelcome Guests, FREDERICK S. BALDI. Pp. 219. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1959. \$3.95.

A Matter of Conviction, EVAN HUNTER. Pp. 237. New York, Simon and Schuster, 1959. \$3.50.

Acquitted of Murder, WILLIAM SEA-GLE. Pp. 257. Chicago, Henry Regnery, 1958. \$5.

Equal Justice for the Accused, A Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York and The National Legal Aid and Defender Association. Pp. 144. New York, Doubleday, 1959. \$3.50.

Brotherhood of Evil: The Mafia, FREDERICK SONDERN, JR. Pp. 243. New York, Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959. \$3.95.

The Eavesdroppers, Samuel Dash, Robert E. Knowlton, and Richard F. Schwartz. Pp. 484. New Brunswick, N. J., Rutgers University Press, 1959. \$6.50.

Handbook of Everyday Law, MARTIN J. Ross. Pp. 308. New York, Harper, 1959, \$4 95.

REPRINTS

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L. Stanley Clevenger and John M. Stanton, Should an Inmate Have a Job before Being Released on Parole?; Leonard R. Witt, Parole Release without Employment; Arthur Mann and William G. Raf- ferty, A State Employment Program for the Offender (April, 1960)	.50
Robert R. Hannum, Problems of Getting Jobs for Parolees (April, 1960)	.50
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